

Banff 1896.

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS

OF

STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE FIRST FOUR BOOKS

OF THE

HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM

OF

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

BY

RICHARD HOWLETT,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

The history of English affairs from the Conquest to A.D. 1198, written by William, canon of the Augustine Priory of St. Mary at Newburgh in Yorkshire, is the work of a man of unusual moral elevation, mental power, and eloquence, and though the treatise has taken a high place among mediæval histories rather on account of the valuable contemporary judgments on men and events which it contains than by reason of the absolute amount of original information it imparts, there is still much in it which is not to be found elsewhere, and all facts, so far as known to the author, are recorded with unswerving faithfulness. These points have commended and will still continue to commend it to those who desire to understand fully the life and ideas of the twelfth century.

Summary of Preface: Authorship of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum.*

The peculiar quality of the book, which is to a great degree a commentary, fits it to play the part of a collateral narrative running parallel with and completing the minor chronicles of the twelfth century. The work will thus, it is believed, be found at the same time to illustrate and form a complement to the shorter treatises which it is proposed to append in the succeeding volumes of this edition. These are the "Draco Normannicus" of Etienne de Rouen, which has never before been printed in England, the "Gesta Stephani," the short chronicle of Richard of Hexham, the account of the Battle of the Standard by St. Ailred of Rievaulx, the metrical chronicle of the wars of 1173–4 by Jordan Fantosme, and the chronicle of Richard of Devizes. All these fall reason-

ably well within the chronological limits of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, but it is further designed to add the interesting continuation of Newburgh's work which is contained in the Cottonian MS., Cleopatra A. 1. This has never yet been printed.

Such remarks as the present editor desires to offer as to the composition and merits of the "*Historia Rerum* "*Anglicarum*" will be found in the preface which follows, but as the matter must in many places be treated in a technical and uninviting manner, it may be well to summarise for general purposes the points to which especial attention is directed, adding references to the particular pages of the preface in which they are treated at length.

Facts known as to the author's life.

The author's name is stated by Leland [1] to have been William Petit or Parvus, but there is some, though slight reason for thinking that it may have been William of Rufforth [2] and that "Parvus" was merely a soubriquet. He was born at Bridlington in 1136, was brought up from boyhood in Newburgh Priory, and died probably in 1198, not in 1208 as is usually asserted.[3]

The priory to which he belonged was an offshoot of the Augustinian house at Bridlington. It was first located at Hode and was afterwards moved to Newburgh, Hode remaining as a cell to the later foundation.[4]

The history was probably begun about the year 1196, the author being at the time in feeble health, and it was dedicated to Ernald abbot of Rievaulx. It is a composite work, the author having derived matter from other chroniclers to an extent which, it is believed, has not hitherto been recognised; his style of writing and his habit of recasting borrowed passages rendering it exceedingly difficult to detect his mode of building up his

[1] *Collectanea*, iv. 37.
[2] p. xix.
[3] p. xxiii.
[4] p. xv.

Portions of his history copied from the works of Symeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Jordan Fantosme, Richard of London, and probably from the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

history.[1] In the first three chapters of his book Newburgh leans upon Symeon of Durham;[2] for the whole of Stephen's reign he closely follows and occasionally falls into the actual words of Henry of Huntingdon.[3] The account of the rebellion of the younger Henry comes principally from Jordan Fantosme;[4] the history of the events leading up to the third crusade, and the facts of the crusade itself are largely taken from the *Itinerarium* of Richard the Canon.[5] Lastly there is reason to believe, from verbal and other coincidences between this chronicle and those of Ralph of Coggeshall and Roger Hoveden, that the account of Richard's captivity, and of French and German affairs intimately connected with it, is derived from the work of Anselm the king's chaplain, who is known not only to have narrated the facts of this episode to Coggeshall, but also to have penned an account of it which is now lost.[6]

Minor sources of information.

Added to these unacknowledged sources of information are others of a minor character, such as the letters of Terric the Templar, and those of the Genoese to Pope Urban, which are not openly quoted, but are worked into the general fabric of the book.[7]

It has been necessary to point out some errors of date and fact, but it has been of course no part of the editor's design to supply omissions.[8]

The history is to be found in four previous editions.

Manuscripts.

The present is founded on the Stowe manuscript [S.] which belonged to Newburgh Priory, and was written, to judge from the handwriting, not later than the year 1200. The Lambeth [L.], Cottonian [C.],[9] and [B.] Bodleian (Rawlinson) MSS. have also been fully collated

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[1] p. xxv.
[2] p. xxv.
[3] p. xxvi.
[4] p. xxvi.
[5] p. xxvii.
[6] p. xxviii.
[7] p. xxxvi.
[8] p. xxxvi.
[9] Probably the actual copy used by Thomas Wykes.

as far as the end of book iv.,[1] and a fragment in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, containing the fourth and fifth books has been similarly used. This fragment has a special interest from the circumstance that it is linked by a spurious chapter to a hitherto unnoticed MS. of the early part of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*.[2]

Four other MSS. of less account have also been consulted in places.

Various readings.

The result of this extended collation has been an inundation of various readings, often of a trivial character.[3] Many of these are from the Lambeth MS., the bulk of which had been collated before the Stowe MS. became available.[4] The heavy task of shifting the basis of the edition from one MS. to the other had to be faced, and when the work had been done it was thought better on the whole not to expunge the readings of the Lambeth copy, especially as there are lacunæ of many pages in extent in the Stowe copy which it has been necessary to supply from the Lambeth volume.

The state of Yorkshire after A.D. 1069.

When in Domesday Book the population was noted down in a dry business-like way, it was never intended to tell or to conceal the fact that fifteen years after the harrying of the shires in 1069 there were over four hundred Yorkshire manors so wasted that but forty-three human beings remained on the whole wide surface of them.[5] Some of the wretched survivors, we are told, were driven to

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[1] The Bodleian (Rawlinson) MS., a 13th cent. copy, quoted as "B," has been altered by a 15th cent. hand. All the various readings refer to the *original state of the text* unless the contrary is noted.

[2] See p. xlvi.

[3] An endeavour has been made to reduce the number by excluding specified words. See p. lvi.

[4] It became the property of the British Museum trustees in the summer of 1883.

[5] The entire population of the county as given in the survey was 8,055. That of Lincolnshire was 25,305.

cannibalism, and William of Malmesbury, writing about the year 1130, says that the land lay waste round York for a breadth of sixty miles "*usque ad hoc etiam tempus.*"

Monastic foundations lead the return of population to the wasted lands.

Though martyrs in no ecclesiastical sense, the blood of these miserable peasant victims proved in very truth to be the seed of the church. Their desolate lands must in such a stretch of years have become for the most part absolutely lost to the service of man. The paved roads by which ancient Rome had opened Britain to light and civilization, then doubtless once more played a part, allowing the stream of life to return to the deserted shire. Foremost in this peaceful warfare against desolation were communities of monks. Their modest buildings and clearings, succeeded by stately edifices and broader culture, formed outposts round which the peasantry could gather once more, and whence they could obtain that benevolent direction which is so true a boon to simple, half civilised men.

Conventual foundations numerous under Stephen, especially in Yorkshire.

Newburgh tells us (p. 53) that under Stephen's short reign more monasteries were founded than during the hundred preceding years, and indeed, if we analyse a list of English monasteries we shall find that out of a total of about 698[1] dated foundations, 247 were built before Stephen, 115 during Stephen's nineteen years of turbulence, 113 during the 35 years of Henry, and 223 in later times. Descending in our analysis to counties[2] it is seen that one shire, which, if its semi-mountainous

[1] This is only a rough total of dated foundations. I have preferred to found my calculations on an old list. The one used was published by James Moore, in 1798. It was based on the works of Tanner and Keith, and was revised by John Caley, and its sufficiency as a source of a rough comparative statement can therefore scarcely be in question. I have added a few dates to Moore's list, and have struck out all establishments remaining undated.

[2] The ten at the head of the list are, Yorkshire, 68; Lincolnshire, 50; Norfolk, 37; Essex, 31; Suffolk, 29; Middlesex, 24; Kent, 23; Warwickshire, 23; Staffordshire, 21; Sussex, 21.

districts are subtracted, ceases perhaps to be the largest, heads the list with the surprising total of 68 houses. The next is the large fen county of Lincoln with 50, and passing only to the fourth of the series we at once reach totals that are less than half of the Yorkshire figures.

Looking closer still we must attribute 20 Yorkshire monasteries to early times, 20 to Stephen, 11 to the reign of Henry the Second, and 18 to the succeeding centuries. For Lincolnshire the same distribution would give the numbers 8, 19, 14 and 9. Thus it is a noteworthy fact, that monks joined if they did not lead the army which was to conquer waste, moorland, and fen, and that it was to desolate regions rather than to luxury and cultivation that these pioneers directed their steps.[1] Even in the case of Norfolk, then perhaps the richest of our counties,[2] we find St. Benedict's, the greatest monastery of the county, in the heart of the dreary district of the Broads.

The monks sought deserted places.

It seems probable then that following the direction in which the struggle for existence was least severe these communities tended to go where nature had left the land waste, or where Norman ravagers had left it bare, and it is with no intent to cast a slur upon the beneficence of founders that we also remark a tendency to make grants of waste and forest on a liberal scale. Our present interest centres on one particular group of these convents. A line scarcely six miles long, drawn in a south-easterly direction, passes through the great abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland, and its southern point touches the priory of Newburgh. The two northern belonged to the great Cistercian order, the third, and perhaps humbler establishment was an Augustinian priory, but there is much to

The position of Rievaulx, Byland, and Newburgh.

[1] See Newburgh's expression "*locus horroris*," applied to the site of Rievaulx.

[2] See Jordan Fantosme, l. 908, 9, the poem of John of St. Omer (Cott. Titus A. xx.), and the fact that the Domesday population was 27,087 as against 17,434 for Devonshire.

show that notwithstanding the difference of order these houses were drawn together by common bonds of esteem and brotherhood. We have but to turn to the pages of the chronicle which follows in this volume to find that the work was undertaken at the request of Ernald Abbot of Rievaulx,[1] and that when Roger Abbot of Byland is mentioned as the authority for a statement, he is referred to in terms of the deepest respect and affection.[2] A circumstance too, which will be mentioned below, shows that Newburgh Priory received incidental benefit from the association.

Newburgh Priory.

The account of this house in the Monasticon[3] is bare and unsatisfactory, and though in the body of the charters presented by that vast work there is incidental information to be gleaned which throws light on the origin of the priory, the facts are not indexed or brought together under the head of Newburgh, but are to be found among the documents appended to the history of Byland.[4]

The monasteries of that date frequently sent forth swarms to find and furnish new hives. Parties, usually of thirteen, went forth from some great house, and it was thus, or in some similar way, that Furness Abbey became the mother house of Byland, and also, as it now appears, that Bridlington Priory became the parent of Newburgh.

Bridlington the mother-house of Newburgh.

The proof of this is to be found in the account of the foundation of Byland written by Philip, third abbot of that house.[5] The passage is as follows:—

"Postea autem manentibus apud Bellamlandam abbate Ro-"gero et monachis, idem abbas ad petitionem et instantiam "domiui Rogeri de Molbray et Sampsonis de Albaneio dedit "locum de Hode, ubi prius habitare inceperant, quibusdam

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[1] p. 3.
[2] p. 52.
[3] Vol. vi. p. 317.
[4] See below.
[5] Monasticon, Vol. v., p. 353.

"canonicis qui venerant de Bridlington, qui nunc sunt de "Novoburgo, pro omnimodis decimis grangiæ de Wildon et "Cambe. Tali etiam compositione interveniente quod illi "canonici manerent apud Hode cum plenario conventu in- "perpetuum et ibidem viverent secundum regulam sancti "Augustini."

Hode, a cell to Newburgh Priory.

From a passage a little further on it appears that Sampson de Albany, a relation of Roger Mowbray, became himself a canon of Hode. The canons then apparently migrated to Newburgh, leaving behind a small community in what thus became their cell at Hode.[1]

It was after the conscientious refusal of the abbot of Byland to accept the *jus patronatus* over the churches of Thirsk, Honingham, and Kirby Moorhead, together with other possessions, that Mowbray transferred his generosity to the canons of Hode or Newburgh.

Position of Newburgh Priory.

The change from Hode to the final site near the village of Coxwold took place in 1145, the convent thus obtaining a pleasant abode under the shelter of the Hambleton Hills, among woods and close to a running stream. More than all this the house was on one of the ancient routes from York to the mouth of the Tees, the trackway which, running past Crayke Castle and thence close to Newburgh Priory and Coxwold, climbs the Hambleton Hills and proceeds at a considerable elevation and with a directness which perhaps tells of Roman origin[2] right onward to the mouth of Tees.

This position must have caused Newburgh Priory to be a frequent halting-place for travellers of all grades. It has frequently been said that the monasteries were

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[1] In the parish of Sutton, five miles east of Thirsk. On the Ordnance Survey map it appears as Hood Grange. It was a partially wasted site, the manor having fallen in value from 3*l.* in the Confessor's time to 30*s.* at the date of Domesday. Newburgh cannot be identified with any certainty, but Easingwold, which is but four and a half miles distant, was reduced from a value of 32*l.* to 20*s.*

[2] Gill's "Vallis Eboracensis," p. 149.

the hostelries of early times, and Newburgh must by its position have played a considerable part in this way on the northern road. Much later than the times of which we write Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., travelling northwards to her marriage with James IV. of Scotland, rode from York to Newburgh, where she passed one night and thence set forth again for Edinburgh.

The house, though respectably endowed, was never perhaps a wealthy one. Henry VIII.'s commissioners set down its revenue at about 367*l.*, which of course would compare favourably with 238*l.* for Byland and 278*l.* for Rievaulx if we could place the least reliance on the truth and honesty of the assessors, but the facts may very well have been, and probably were, wholly the other way, for the abbot of Rievaulx was head of the Cistercian Order in England.

Priors of Newburgh.

Scarcely anything seems to be known about the early occupants of the priory. Even the list of priors in the Monasticon begins so late as 1269, while Gill (" *Vallis* " *Eboracensis*," p. 170), quoting from Torr's MSS., gives a list which is on the face of it incorrect. The earliest reliable information is given by Benedict of Peterborough, who says (i. 352) that in 1186 Bernard prior of Newburgh was one of those nominated for the King's selection with a view to filling the northern archiepiscopal see. Henry, who intended the position for Geoffrey, of course rejected all of the nominees, but the personal standing of the prior of Newburgh is for us sufficiently indicated by his being one of the number.

Little beyond the spacious kitchen of the present mansion remains of the ancient priory. Much is built up in the modern structure, but all architectural glory has disappeared, and all interest about the spot centres in the old Austin canon, whose celebrated history of his own times follows in the present volume.

Personal history of

Leland, on the authority of some words added to a MS. of Newburgh's Commentary on the Song of

William of Newburgh.

Solomon,[1] formerly in the library of Queens' College Cambridge, tells us that William of Newburgh was born at Bridlington, and our author himself, when describing the phenomenal appearance of intermittent springs for which the neighbourhood of Wold Newton is noted even at the present day, speaks of them as being "in pro-"vincia . . . Deirorum, haud procul a loco nativi-"tatis meæ,"[2] and proceeds to say that they were called in English "Gipse."[3] We have but to turn to a map of Yorkshire to see that a stream now called the "Gipsey "Race" runs from Wold Newton into the sea close to Bridlington; and placing this circumstance by the side of the facts above noted as to the connexion between the Austin priories of Bridlington, Hode, and Newburgh, a reasonably good confirmation of Leland's information results. The date of our author's birth we know with some exactness, for he says that he was born in the first year of Stephen's reign,[4] and since, as we shall show, he everywhere follows Huntingdon's chronology for that reign, we may fix the date as 1136.

The author's name.

As to our author's name there has been some difference of opinion. Sometimes he appears to have been confused with the William of Rievaulx who, as John of Hexham asserts, died in 1146;[5] but if we turn to the history itself there seems reason for thinking that the name usually assigned to him is the right one. The occurrence of such expressions as "*meæ parvitati*," "*ego servorum Christi minimus*,"[6] in the work of an

[1] The words are, "Gulielmus "natus fuit in Bridlingtona, qui "canonicus factus in Novoburgo "ad petitionem Rogeri abbatis de "Belland explanationem in Cantica "Cantic: intra unum annum scrip-"sit et edidit." Collectanea, iv. 19.

[2] p. 85.

[3] The *g* in this word is hard.

[4] p. 19.

[5] Hardy, Materials for Hist. of Engl., ii. 227–8.

[6] Of course these expressions of humility are common, *e.g.*, the "*minores minimis sumus*" of the Franciscans, but when Newburgh speaks on p. 313 of the Jew *Benedictus* becoming *Maledictus*, and on p. 362 cannot resist a recurrence to S. Gregory's pun, we may suspect a deeper meaning.

author who shows some inclination to play on words seems, though the evidence is but slender, to point to the correctness of tradition in calling him Parvus or Petit; this was probably, however, only a nickname.

Vossius[1] says that William, a Cistercian monk of *Rusheford*, wrote a history and dedicated it to St. Ailred of Rievaulx. This, as Oudin (ii. 1123) shows, is the present history, but there is a point which makes the statement important.

The Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 192 begins with the rubric "*Liber Sanctæ Mariæ Fratris Willelmi*[2] *mo-*" *nachi de Rufforth*," and this ascription in a manuscript certainly written before the year 1300, coinciding with what Vossius tells us from some unknown source, cannot be passed over lightly.

The rubricator of this manuscript [B.] was singularly careless, and never scrupled to alter or mutilate the heading of a chapter, and we may therefore at least amend his title thus:—

Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de [?], *Chronicon Fratris* [*Willelmi*] *monachi de Rufforth.*

Now *Rufford* was a well known abbey in Nottinghamshire, while our author tells us that he lived at Newburgh from boyhood. Also he was not *monachus* but *canonicus*.

In the worst blundering there is often a grain of truth. Does not our grain possibly lie here in the word *Rufforth*? There is a village called Rufforth some five miles west of York. If our author's grandparents flying in 1069 before the Norman ravagers had migrated to Bridlington, their descendant, William of Rufforth, entering Newburgh Priory, might become known either as William of Newburgh or by his soubriquet of Petit, and our blundering rubricator, not knowing Rufforth, but like Vossius being well acquainted with Rufford Abbey,

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[1] Hardy, Materials for Hist. of Engl., ii. p. 227.

[2] The word *Willelmi* has almost disappeared from the parchment.

would readily be misled by the similarity of the names, and would imagine that William of Rufforth meant William, *monk* of Rufforth.

He tells us that he was brought up from boyhood in Newburgh Priory. Probably starting as one of the children of the choir, and attracting notice by an early exhibition of the solid abilities and sober good sense which he certainly showed in later life, he won his way upwards and was admitted to full brotherhood through the recognition of his personal merits.

Assertion that he was once a candidate for the bishopric of S. Asaph.

The only further personal fact as to our author which comes or professes to come from an external source is contained in a passage in Dr. David Powel's preface to his edition of Ponticus Virunnius:—

"Quoniam in annalibus nostris ante annos trecentos con-"scriptis, literis proditum invenio, istum Gulielmum (qui ibi "Gwilym bâch, *i.e.* Gulielmus Parvus, dicitur) post mortem "prædicti Galfridi Arthuri episcopi Elguensis, eum episcopa-"tum ambivisse circa annum Domini 1165 atque repulsam "passum, et a Davide principis Oeni filio male tractatum, "inde causam maledicendi arripuisse, et postea malitiæ suæ "virus universum in gentem Britannicam evomuisse, quod pru-"denti etiam lectori ex ejus scripti acrimonia et acerbitate "facile patebit."[1]

This was written in 1585, but Dr. Powel gives no clue to his 13th century authority, and he has so worded his scurrilous remarks as to leave some doubt as to whether the error apparent on the surface of the passage does not go deeper. Indeed Bishop Nicolson[2] has utterly misunderstood him. Taking, however, the meaning most favourable to Powel's reputation for accuracy, it appears from other sources that Geoffrey of Monmouth died in 1154 (when Newburgh was eighteen), that his successor, Bishop Richard, died in 1155, and that Bishop

[1] Humphrey Lluyd of Denbigh (Frag. Brit. Descript.) speaks of Leland's defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, "contra caninos rictus "et vatinianum (*sic*) ordinem deli-"rantis Urbinatis, et bene saginati "Rhievallensis (*sic*) monachi magis "in coquina quam in antiquorum "historiis versati." I do not remember any similar rancour against Giraldus de Barri, who joins Newburgh in speaking contemptuously of Geoffrey of Monmouth's legends.

[2] *Bibl. Historica*, ed. 2, p. 59.

Godfrey held the see from that date to 1175. Newburgh cannot therefore have been a candidate for the bishopric in 1165. Dr. Powel may have meant 1175, but why then does he merely say, "after the death of "the aforesaid Geoffrey," when he means on the second succeeding vacancy in the see? In the next place, if Newburgh had been ill-treated by David, son of *Owen Prince of Wales,* the ill-usage must have occurred in or before 1169. After that date he would have dealt with David *Prince of Wales, son of Owen.* On such blundering testimony as this we cannot believe the story against a man whose modesty, sober judgment, and deep religious feeling are apparent on every page of his book.

The author's entire life appears to have been passed within the limits of Yorkshire and Durham.

What little remains to be known of Newburgh's personal history must be derived from his writings, and but scant details can there be found. One circumstance, which will be useful in considering a point to be brought forward later, may here be stated. He has not written a single sentence or given a single local fact or description which would lend support to the idea that he had ever travelled beyond the limits of Yorkshire and Durham.[1] All information clearly floated to him on the tide; he went to seek nothing. A negative statement of this kind of course cannot be proved by pointing out passages; the reference must be to the whole work, and to the conviction resulting in at least one mind which has considered that work attentively and with a view to the point in question.

Personal sources of his historical information.

The persons from whom he derived information are sometimes named, sometimes only vaguely referred to, as witnesses worthy of credit. Some aged person related to Newburgh, then no doubt a youth, the incident at the Conqueror's burial, thus confirming, if confirmation were needed, the accounts of Eadmer and Ordericus Vitalis. The blinded monk of Byland, once Bishop Wimund of

[1] Nothing in his account of the Welsh wars exhibits a trace of special knowledge of the country.

the Isles, detailed a story of rebellion and deeds of blood by sea and land on the coasts of Western Scotland which reads like a romance, but which, as it was confirmed by one of the strange adventurer's own followers, and is supported by the chroniclers of the day, may be regarded as reliable information as to a very dark passage in the annals of the North. A similar service is done by the chapter as to Raymond Trencavel, though the narrative, also derived from accounts brought to the author, is marred by such errors as a wrong name and a wrong location of the chief event.[1] Roger Abbot of Byland brings information as to Henry's penance at Canterbury; an Irish bishop contributes facts as to his own island; a canon of York, a personal friend of Archbishop William, refutes by word of mouth the horrible story of poisoning by the sacred chalice; and Symphorianus, the prelate's chaplain, adds his own verbal testimony in the same direction.[2] Crusaders and pilgrims brought their tales to the northern abbeys, and were, it is evident, eagerly questioned by at least one man who loved to ponder philosophically over the great events of the world outside his convent walls.

Two results may be expected from this mode of gathering: the first, vagueness; the second, error of date and detail. If the listener, moreover, be not inordinately sceptical, we must ultimately get from his pen a record of the half-conscious exaggerations of men who have told and retold their tales until they are exposed to the temptation of giving fresh point to them. Such apparently is the case as regards the narrative of the fall of Edessa, such and much more must assuredly be the case with the ghastly stories of corpses emerging from their graves by night and hunting down living men, which we find in the fifth book of this otherwise sober history.

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[1] It did not occur in the cathedral of Béziers but in the church of St. Mary Magdalen. See p. 128, note 5.

[2] Hoveden, i. 213, alludes to this in a few words, quoting from the Chron. de Mailros.

These matters however belong rather to the section in which it is proposed to deal with Newburgh's writings. Here it only remains for us to see what evidence as to the date of his death can be gathered. Cave asserts,[1] but gives no authority for his assertion, that William of Newburgh died in 1208 at the age of 72.

Probable dates of the composition of the work and of the author's death.

All the internal evidence of the "*Historia Rerum* "*Anglicarum*" opposes this date, and certain points in the MSS. are strongly against it.

It will be necessary, at the risk of being tedious, to go closely into this matter, and at the same time into the question, intimately bound up with it, of the date at which the history was begun.

The facts will be perhaps most clearly appreciated if put in the form of a list.

1. The history breaks off very abruptly after mentioning the shower of red rain at Andely, which we know from Diceto took place on 8th May, 1198.
2. Newburgh did not know of the war in August 1198.[2]
3. The work was begun in or before 1196, for Roger abbot of Byland, who resigned in that year, is spoken of as still holding office when Newburgh was writing Chapter 15 of Book I.
4. Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx ceased to be abbot in 1199, and although the book was dedicated to him there is no presentation copy extant, nor does the fourteenth century catalogue of the Rievaulx library[3] mention one. If Newburgh had lived to complete and revise his work surely there would have been such a copy.
5. In his dedication he speaks of "*indultum miseri-* "*corditer infirmitati meæ otium.*" He was in ill health when he began the task; he says nothing as to advanced *age*.

[1] *Hist. Literaria*, i. p. 691.
[2] See also p. 395, note 6.
[3] Wright and Halliwell's "*Reli-* "*quiæ Antiquæ*."

6. In writing a date in Arabic numerals such a blunder as 1208 for 1198 is almost impossible, but to write or print MCCVIII. for MCXCVIII. is very easy.
7. The copy of the work belonging to Newburgh Priory, written in a beautiful hand of the end of the twelfth century, contains a considerable number of errors, and in one place (p. 172, note 2,) actually presents an alternative reading, "novarum (vel "novorum) rerum (vel regum)." This speaks plainly of an original in a cursive hand, and tells us also that the author could no longer be consulted as to what he had intended to write.
8. There are three cases at least in which Newburgh promises to recur to a subject and does not do so.[1]
9. There are manifest errors and obscure passages in all the MSS., which speak of a badly written original, *e.g.*, "nec non est a quibus" (p. 116, note 6). These could not have escaped the eye of the author on a revision.[2]

These circumstances taken in connexion seem to indicate that the present work was begun in or before 1196, and that shortly after May 1198, William of Newburgh went to his rest, leaving his work unrevised.

The author's learning and ability.

If our author's opportunities had been full in proportion to his abilities, abbot Ernald could have prompted no fitter man to the task of writing a history of his own times. In the position occupied by either Benedict of Peterborough or Ralph de Diceto, Newburgh might have produced a history not inferior in any respect to that of Matthew Paris. Many passages yield in force and elegance to the work of no writer of that age, and the whole is singularly free from mediævalisms. The author is perhaps a little fond of introducing rare words and

[1] See p. 404, note 3.

[2] In compressing a letter he is quoting (p. 268, note 6) he makes a blunder which his sensitive ear would have been certain to detect on revision.

startling constructions, and frequently shows that his classical reading has been quite as much among poets as among prose writers. His quotations are from Virgil and Horace, but he has evidently read Cicero and Livy.[1] The works of St. Gregory and St. Augustine, and translations of Eusebius and Josephus were familiar to him; and coming to later times, and historical studies, he alludes to Gildas and to Beda, whom he imitated, and, though not by name, to Symeon of Durham and Richard the Canon. These names bring us to the question, How far was Newburgh an original writer?

Sources from which the history was in part compiled.

Hitherto in all accounts which have been given of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, it has been treated as an entirely independent production. Close analysis, however, indicates that this idea must be greatly modified. Certainly, with perhaps the exception of the first two chapters, the whole of this history might have been derived from the testimony of living men; the author, that is if he had been from early manhood a collector of historical information, might have presented us with nearly every fact from personal narratives. That this, however, is not by any means what has happened is clear, although there is great difficulty in identifying borrowed matter in this chronicle, for whatever Newburgh has used he has recast and written down in his own words. Indeed if we chance to discover a few undoubtedly borrowed words we may reasonably suspect that very much more has been drawn from the same source.

Symeon of Durham.

On turning to p. 22 of the present volume we find a brief sentence in which the actual words of Symeon of Durham are preserved. Thus we may assume that for

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[1] He takes considerable liberties with speeches, as I shall have occasion to remark below. He puts a few words which are perhaps adapted from Cicero into the mouth of the Jew who addresses the besiegers of York Castle (p. 321).

Sources from which the history was compiled. Henry of Huntingdon.

the first three chapters this author has been consulted. At the end of cap. 3., p. 30, on p. 34 at the end of cap. 5, and again on p. 48 at the beginning of cap. 13, we see the actual words of Henry of Huntingdon making their way up to the surface, and what is still more important, we have the archdeacon's chronology throughout the reign of Stephen. His authority is once only neglected, the result being a wrong date for the Battle of the Standard.

The framework for almost the whole of Book I. is Huntingdon's, but there are special chapters introduced which either amplify his rather bare outlines or introduce entirely new matter.[1]

Though very interesting, but little of this new material strictly belongs to English political history. We have special accounts of Geoffrey de Mandeville, of Robert Marmion, of the origin of several monastic foundations, and personal accounts of certain archbishops of York and Kings of Scotland. Added to these are singular chapters as to Bishop Wimund and Éon de l'Étoile, and two more filled with some of the stories to which Newburgh seems at first to have given an unwilling ear and afterwards full credence.

For events from 1154 to 1173 we have a narrative not drawn from the work of any author whose writings have come down to us, but when we reach the latter year the account starts suddenly into an unwonted fulness. The reason of this is now plain. Our author had met with the metrical chronicle of Jordan Fantosme and had strengthened his own narrative with its picturesque details. A comparison of the episode of the messenger bearing to Henry the tidings of the capture of the Scottish king as told by Newburgh (p. 189), and by Fantosme (lines 1962 to 2040) will raise suspicions of a common origin for two versions of a story recorded by no

Jordan Fantosme.

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[1] p. 34, note 9.

Sources from which the history was compiled.

other chronicler, which so wonderfully resemble each other.[1] On further comparison when both Newburgh and Fantosme are seen to confuse the separate invasions of East Anglia in 1173 and 1174, regarding them as *one*, and placing the sack of Norwich before the battle of Fornham St. Genevieve, the strange coincidence of error will be remarked as a stronger trace of relationship than many coincidences of truth.[2] Roger abbot of Byland contributed some facts, and Newburgh himself could not have been without definite memories of such stirring events, but when we notice the sudden lapse of the succeeding narrative we see that the fulness of the history for 1173 and 1174 must have had an extraneous cause.

Use made by Newburgh of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.*

In the fourth book we come to another source from which our author has largely drawn in his account of the Crusades. The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* of Richard the Canon has been read and summarised, by Newburgh.[3] If proof of this is required it may be obtained by reading the *Itinerarium* side by side with Book III., caps. 15–28, of the present work, remembering, while reading, the often-stated fact that Newburgh melts and recasts his information. These pages together with the opening words of cap. 15 of Book III. (see p. 249) and

[1] As has been already remarked p. xxv, note 1), Newburgh does not consider himself bound to keep to more than the substance of conversations, the form he appears to regard as of little moment.

[2] The final proof, always so difficult in Newburgh's case, is impossible when he adapts from a French poem.

[3] This circumstance had forced itself upon my notice before I had read p. lxix of Bishop Stubb's preface to the *Itinerarium.* My own suspicions were first aroused by the fact that both authors, after narrating the circumstances of Barbarossa's death, burst forth into the words of the 68th Psalm, " O abys-" sus multa . . . ." Bishop Stubbs cites the instance noticed in note 5, p. 249. I confess that the absence of verbal coincidences, where the sense is obviously borrowed, seems to me to favour the idea that the *Itinerarium* was originally composed in French. If read by Newburgh in that language such would be the result.

Sources from which the history was compiled.

the words referred to in note 8 on p. 329 will convince most readers. It will be well also to direct attention to the probabilities derivable from the fact that William, canon of St. Mary's, Newburgh, and Richard, canon of the Holy Trinity, London, were both Augustinians, and that, as Bishop Stubbs remarks, the Augustinian priories of this date had close relations.

Probable use made of the now lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

It may be necessary in the preface to the succeeding volume, in which it is proposed to print Book V. of the present history and other matter, to recur to the problem presented by the circumstance that there are coincidences traceable between the language and the facts in the present chronicle and those in the later part of Roger Hoveden's history.[1] That the phrases in the text and those recited in note 1 on p. 388 had a common origin there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. On p. 359 and 361 we find passages obviously derived from two of King Richard's letters which are given in full by Hoveden, and by no other contemporary chronicler.

Coincidences of language and facts with Hoveden.

Now it is certain from the general aspect of their work that Newburgh and Hoveden never borrowed from each other. Whence then came these similarities? All these passages have close reference to Richard and his crusade: Hoveden and Newburgh have a wealth of information on this subject, each one giving details that the other omits, but both concurring in a large body of facts. Had the facts been derived from letters Hoveden would have inserted the entire documents, for such is his custom. He has not done so, but has embodied passages just as he does with his transcripts from Benedict. Can we indicate no source from which all this material has been

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[1] On pp. 305 and 306 we have two sayings of Richard's own, one as to selling London if he could find a purchaser, the other about Bishop Hugh of Durham. Each of these is given by Newburgh in practically the same words as those in which Richard of Devizes, pp. 8 and 10, states them. In addition to this we find the puerility as to a truce between Richard and Saladin for "three years, three months, three "weeks, three days, three hours," occurring also in Richard of Devizes.

derived? The man who noted down that which by the medium of the authors named we now possess must have been present with Richard when varied business was transacted, at moments when leisure allowed the King's tongue free speech and jest, during the dangers of the crusades, in the trying days of shipwreck and of wandering in Germany, and finally throughout the months of prison and anxious negotiation which preceded the return to England. In brief he must have been "*regis* "*comes ubique intus et foris.*" We know that Anselm the chaplain shared these dangers and enjoyed these opportunities of converse with his royal master: we are certain too, for the writer known as John of Peterborough has told us so,[1] that Anselm penned an account of them, now unfortunately lost. Is it not then more than merely possible that imbedded in the chronicles of Newburgh and Hoveden we have passages from Anselm's work which appear in the pages of these two writers as otherwise inexplicable coincidences? The point has an interest which may perhaps excuse a careful examination of the evidence.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

The original manuscript of Ralph of Coggeshall's chronicle (Cott. Vesp. D. X.) has something to tell which probably solves this problem. It is plainly a copy of the abbot's rough draft interlined and corrected by the author himself, two whole leaves, for instance, being introduced in places where the margins allowed too little room. All, or nearly all, of this imported matter relates to the third crusade, and there is much erasure and much writing on the margins of *ff.* 61 *b.* and 62. The two lines preceding the principal erasure on *fo.* 61 *b.* run

[1] Chron. Johan. Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo (Sparke, *Hist. Anglic. Scriptt. Varii*, p. 90) "Ejus acta "scripserunt dominus Milo abbas "de Pynn, eleemosynarius regis, "et Anselmus capelianus, regis "comes ubique intus et foris."

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

thus; "Paucis suorum secum retentis in quibus erant "Baldewinus de Betun et magister Philippus clericus "regis″ et quidam fratres templi, qui omnes in partes "Sclavoniæ . . ." In the margin attached by the usual marks (″) to the word *regis* are the words "*atque Anselmus capellanus qui hæc omnia nobis, ut "vidit et audivit, retulit.*"[1]

Thus, then, we know that we are in possession of Anselm's own words so far as a verbal recital written down by an auditor can represent them. When Anselm comes to write his own history of events we must expect to find the same substance in different though equivalent words. If then we find that what Coggeshall gives us exists in Hoveden with merely verbal differences, may we not suppose that in the one case we have a reported conversation, in the other an extract from a written book? When we trace the same story to Newburgh's pages we must expect further alterations made with a view to style of narration.

What we know to be Anselm's narrative begins with four incidents of Richard's wandering, the second being the one in which Hugh the Merchant's page, showing too much gold at a money changer's stall, and exhibiting too many of the marks of a courtier, is caught and questioned, but is allowed to go free again. The story proceeds with the appearance of the same youth in the market with the King's gloves in his belt, and narrates his capture, torture, threatened death, and confession.[2] Newburgh compresses this so very much that we can only say that his account is not discordant with Coggeshall's summary of

[1] The author of Lambeth MS. 371, who abridges Coggeshall, breaks off for a moment, as Bishop Stubbs remarks, to call Anselm in his own words, "*gestorum regis assertor et testis.*" (*fo.* 54, *l.* 17.)

[2] R. de Coggeshall (Rolls Ed. p. 56).

Anselm's tales,[1] but we can say more as to some sentences from Coggeshall a little further on (*fo.* 63, *b*)[2]:— Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

"Rex in medio stans cum duce Austriæ, qui pro eo tunc "plurimum lacrymabatur, contra singulas objectiones ita luculenter et argumentose peroravit ut omnibus admirationi "ac venerationi haberetur . . . . . surrexit imperator, "et rege ad se accersito, osculatus est eum, deinceps blaude "leniterque cum eo colloquens."

In Hoveden's account, iii. 199, we find these words :—

"Rex *libere et constanter* et ita intrepide respondit, quod non "solum eum imperator gratia vel venia dignum, sed etiam "laude judicavit. Nam *inclina*ntem se *regem erexit*, et suscepit in osculo pacis, et confœderavit eum sibi . . . . "circumstante populo, et *in lacrymas* ruente *præ gaudio* . . "Et tunc . . . . centum millia marcarum, "*mediante duce Austriæ, pro sua liberatione* promisit."

Turning now to Newburgh, p. 388, we find the following :—

Ille vero hilari fretus conscientia, *constanti et libera* responsione ita objecta diluit, ut imperator quoque non solum ad misericordiam verum etiam ad reverentiam ejus flecti videretur. Multis enim *præ gaudio in lacrimas* resolutis, *inclina*tum *regem* dignanter *erexit* uberiorem de cetero gratiam et profusiora solatia pollicens, re autem vera ingenti summæ, *mediante duce Austriæ*, ab ipso rege *pro sua liberatione* promissæ, sitibunde inhians.

It will be conceded at once that the identity between the portions of the last two passages printed in italics is not accidental. Most also will agree that the spirit, form, and substance of all three bespeak a common origin. If this be conceded it will be seen that the words of Newburgh and Hoveden are brought into direct relation with those which we know come from the lips of Anselm the chaplain. We have no reason to think that Coggeshall ceased at any point of his narration of Richard's troubles to draw from Anselm's information. It is improbable that he who could have obtained all from the

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[1] "Quem tandem in suburbano "quodam, indicio ut dicitur, cujus- "dam ex comitibus ejus, dum escas "lautiores emeret, caute notati, et "ad prodendum cuinam peregrino "talia procuraret intentata morte "coacti per immissos satellites "captivavit." Newburgh, p. 383.

[2] R. de Coggeshall (Rolls Ed.) p. 59.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

best possible authority (and who in fact says of Anselm "hæc omnia nobis retulit") should have rested content with a part only of the thrilling tale; but that the abbot was summarising is clear from his obviously eclectic account of the captivity.

The above passage is on *fo.* 63 *b.* of Coggeshall's MS., and on *fo.* 65 *b.* we find an account of the death of Leopold of Austria, occupying about a page.

This is subjoined and contrasted with the corresponding passages from Newburgh (lib. v. cap. viii). Hoveden's account (iii. pp. 274–8) is omitted as superfluous, for when compared with Newburgh's it is at once seen to be identical in substance and to abound in verbal coincidences of the most striking character.[1]

R. de Coggeshall (pp. 65, 66).

Terra ducis Austriæ a Cælestino papa anathemate innodata ob injuriam quam regi repatrianti dux ipse intulerat et ob retentionem obsidum, cœlitus etiam percussa est anno præcedenti, sterilitate scilicet, fame et peste. Danubius etiam in quadam parte terræ ejus plus solito inundans, inopinato eventu decem millia hominum submersit. Sed quia in omnibus his plagis non est aversus furor ducis, immo adhuc plurimos obsides pro injusta redemptione regis accipiens, eosque in arcta custodia ponens, ad ultimum ipse divino judicio terribiliter percussus est, ipso

W. de Novoburgo (lib. v. cap. viii.).

Denique, ut dicitur, civitates terræ illius incertam prorsus causam habentibus incendiis conflagrarunt. Danubius fluvius maximus, tanquam ad ultionem egressus, adjacentia quædam loca cum ingenti [Hoveden says *decem millia*[2]] hominum exitio occupavit. Æstate media tota illa regio, . . . ariditate deficiens, intempestive viroris sui gratia caruit. Semina frugum terræ mandata cum deberent erumpere, degenerarunt in vermes. Nobiliores quoque terræ illius tanquam effusa pestis morbus absumpsit. . . . Et quidem

[1] For example, Hoveden has, "*Quod cum ipse fieri postularet,* "*non est inventus qui* voluntati "ejus acquiesceret." "*Accito* camerario suo, et *ad hoc coacto,* "*dux ipse* dolarium *manu propria* "*tibiæ apposuit*, et ipse camerarius "*malleo vibrato vix trina percus*"*sione pedem* obtruncavit: *medici* "*vero, appositis medicaminibus,* "*cum eum in crastino visitarent* . "*. . .*" The words in italics will be seen to be identical in Hoveden and Newburgh.

[2] Mediæval writers not drawing from the same source seldom agree as to numbers.

cum proceribus suis Natale Domini cum maxima pompa et gloria celebrante. Die siquidem Sancti Stephani cum lusum equitando pergeret, comitantibus sociis, equus, cui dux insidebat, mole nivis offensus corruit, sedentisque pedem cum tibia insanabiliter contrivit. Nam tibia cum pede protinus cum quadam nigredine intumescens, nullo medicorum cataplasmate sedari potuit, quin potius ignis, quem infernalem vocant, tumori admixtus, intolerabiliter eum cruciabat; quem cruciatum dux diutius ferre non valens, pedem a crure detruncari fecit, ipso dolabrum[1] interim tenente, ceteris omnibus præ nimio horrore et miserabilis domini sui miseratione hoc facere renuentibus. Sed nec sic doloris evasit cruciatus; nam statim femur cum reliquo corpore igne execrabili depascebatur. Tandem vero agnoscens impietatis culpam quam in regem et in obsides regis malitiose exercuerat, suadentibus episcopis, qui aderant, obsides absolvit, et residuum pecuniæ de regis redemptione, quod nondum expenderat, se redditurum spopondit, atque ecclesiasticæ censuræ se deinceps pariturum promisit. Unde episcopi cum in tanta calamitate constitutum in communionem receperunt atque ita vita decessit. Cujus corpus diutius inhumatum jacuit, eo quod filius ejus man-

Sources from which the history was compiled: lost work of Anslem the chaplain.

a Romano pontifice pro iis quæ in eundem regem commiserat anathemate innodatus, . . . derisit sententiam. . . Sed . . . convocatis nobilibus terræ, Dominici Natalis solemnitatem in multa ostentatione et gloria celebrare voluit. . . . Cum enim in natali beati Stephani jam pransus exisset, ut in campo cum suis militibus luderet, forte equus ejus decidens sessorem quoque dejecit, pedemque ejus ita comminuit ut ossa hinc inde confracta, rupta cute, exterius prominerent. Acciti mox medici, . . . adhibuere quæ expedire credebant. In crastino vero pes ita denigratus apparuit ut a medicis incidendus decerneretur. Quod cum ipse . . . fieri postularet, non est inventus, . . qui hoc patraret. Tandem accitus cubicularius ejus, atque ad hoc coactus, dum ipse dux dolabrum manu propria tibiæ apponeret, malleo vibrato, vix trina percussione pedem ejus abscidit. Medici vero, appositis medicaminibus, . . . in crastino . . . signis haud ambiguis mortem esse in januis cogno[verunt], . . . Desperatus igitur accitis episcopis, . . . a vinculo anathematis . . . petiit relaxari. Responsum est . . . quod nullatenus posset absolvi nisi sub juratoria cautione quod super injuriis regi Anglorum illatis judicio ecclesiæ staret,

[1] The words at this point agree very closely without being identical. Hoveden has *dolarium*.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

. . . Hac cautione . . Tandem ab amicis compulsus, obsides absolvit et repatriandi licentiam concessit; qui cum maximo labore atque inedia latenter ad propria sunt reversi.[1]

data patris exsequi nollet, præstita, absolutionis munus promeruit; moxque obsides regis Anglorum liberari præcepit. Verum cum . . . expirasset, succedens filius, . . . ne ultima defuncti patris voluntas impleretur, adjunctis sibi quibusdam nobilibus, obstitit. Unde factum est per . . . cleri zelum ut tanti ducis corpus diebus aliquot inhumatum inobedienti filio maculam irrogaret. Qui tandem consternatus, memoratos obsides absolute relaxavit, eisque quatuor marcarum millia regi Anglorum reportanda contradere voluit. At illi propter viarum pericula expediti repatriare maluerunt, et . . . revertentes suæ liberationis nuntii primi exstiterunt.

The opinion of Bishop Stubbs (in his edition of Hoveden, iii., 275, note 1,) confirms the assertion that here we certainly have Coggeshall, Newburgh, and Hoveden drawing from the same source. What was that source? The events were later than the captivity, but happened during the stay, or rather caused the termination of the stay of the hostages. Of the three named companions of Richard's wandering, Baldwin of Bethune, Philip, and Anselm, the first was we know one of the hostages left with Leopold of Austria. It is not unnatural to suppose that Anselm was left also, but even if he returned with Richard, he, as "*regis comes ubique intus* "*et foris*," would have learned everything from Baldwin of Bethune, who at the end of 1194 made a journey to England to fetch the duke's niece and the princess of Cyprus, and then (Hoveden, iii. 275, 278,) learning when abroad about the duke's death brought the ladies back again to England.

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

Leaving Coggeshall and taking up Hoveden, we find on p. 214, of vol. iii. an account of the danger caused to Richard by the murder of the Bishop of Liège, and on p. 224 a version of the Ingeburga scandal, which took place during the year of Richard's imprisonment. These are virtually identical with Newburgh's accounts at pp. 368–70 and 396–8. The identity is palpable though mainly through the close correspondence of facts. Each of course has some points that the other omits, but the body of the account is in each case the same. Newburgh has with his usual skill avoided falling into the precise words of his original, but the following instance reveals the fact that he has copied.

In Hoveden (iii. p. 215), we read :—

"Et hoc juraverunt in animam imperatoris episcopi, duces, "comites, et nobiles omnes qui interfuerunt . . ."

Newburgh (p. 398. l. 24), has :—

"Episcopi et duces cum universa nobilitate quæ aderat jura- "verunt in animam imperatoris . . ."

Each of these tales is of the kind we should expect to derive from a man placed in Anselm's position and from no one else, and, as we have already said, Hoveden's habit of giving letters and public documents *in extenso* bears strongly against any idea of the news having reached our authors in that shape.

Finally if our theory is correct we may expect to find that one chronicler has included some unique story which the other has not chosen to copy from Anselm's work. Such a story may be found in Newburgh (p. 405), where we are told of the treacherous attempt to seize Richard again after his release, at the very port of embarkation.

Newburgh, who never invents anything but the form of conversations, cannot have derived this from anyone who did not know the minutest details of Richard's adventures. He only of all historians tells it, and it is therefore unlikely to have been a public rumour, least of all

Sources from which the history was compiled: the lost work of Anselm the chaplain.

one so common and widely spread as to have reached Newburgh Priory.

Thus we have clear correspondences of matter and language between the writings of Newburgh and of two other historians on points relating to Richard's adventures abroad. We positively know that one of those two drew his account from Anselm the chaplain, "*qui hæc omnia nobis ut vidit et audivit retulit*," and who was as "John of Peterborough" says, "*regis comes ubique intus et* "*foris*." We know also that Anselm wrote a book on the events of the king's captivity, and we are assured that he was "*gestorum regis assertor et testis*,"[1] and the conclusion that Newburgh drew from that book seems therefore but natural and reasonable.

In various parts of Newburgh's work we detect public documents or "news letters" such as those from Terric the Templar, the letter of Henry VI. to the King of France, and of the Genoese to Pope Urban, not quoted, but fused into the general mass of the history.[2] This fusion is a legitimate process and by no means detracts from the character of the work, but we must now consider the question of accuracy. Unfortunately in minor matters Newburgh is not unfrequently wrong. It will be admitted that for a history written for the most part in general terms the errors detailed below are rather numerous.[3] Others will be found to which attention has been called in foot-notes.

Errors in the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum.*

p. 29. The oaths of allegiance to Maud taken *after* her second marriage.

p. 33. The invasion of David of Scotland in 1136 repelled by force of arms.

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[1] Lambeth MS. 371, *fo.* 54, *l.* 17.

[2] Mr. H. C. Hamilton says that cap. xxv. of lib. ii. is a summary from FitzStephen. This is exceedingly probable, but I can unfortunately adduce no proof. Similarly though St. Ailred, the famous abbot of Rievaulx, has probably been laid under contributions no sure signs can be quoted.

[3] The list only relates to the first four books.

Errors in the history.

p. 34. The battle of the Standard in the fourth year of Stephen.

p. 59. The fall of Edessa due to the treachery of an enraged citizen.

p. 92. Eleanor the *only* daughter of William X. of Guienne.

p. 112. Geoffrey's rebellion [1156] said to follow the Welsh war of 1157.

p. 121. The Toulouse expedition placed in 1160. William IX. of Aquitaine confused with William IV. of Toulouse.

p. 133. The council of Oxford (1166) placed among the events of 1160.

p. 126–8. Raymond Trencavel wrongly named, and an error as to the church in which he was murdered.

p. 140. Becket is said never to have yielded assent to the constitutions of Clarendon.

p. 146. Geoffrey married Constance of Brittany after her father's death.

pp. 158–9. A confusion of the troubles caused by young Henry's marriage with those due to Breton affairs. The causes of the war of 1167 are alleged as the causes of the dispute which ended in 1161.

p. 169. A wrong date for Henry's visit to Normandy in May 1172.

p. 178. The two invasions of East Anglia (in 1173 and 1174) made into one in 1173.

p. 198. No hostages given by William the Lion with the castles of Edinburgh, &c.

p. 203. A wrong date for the arrival of Cardinal Hugo.

p. 224. Andronicus described as uncle to Alexius II., and said to have married the intended bride of the latter.

p. 235. A wrong date for the death of Archbishop Richard.

Errors in the history.

p. 244. An error of eight years in the date of the capture of Naplous.

p. 264. Bohemond said to have become Count of Tripoli after Raymond.

p. 302. John related to his wife Hawisia in the fourth degree.

p. 324. Richard sends messengers to Tancred to arrange for his entry into Messina. Some of them are killed, and the rest ejected. Richard then attacks the city.

p. 327. Barbarossa took Thessalonica.

p. 336. Arthur of Brittany stated to be a little more than five years old at a date before Longchamp's second expulsion.

p. 344. The council at St. Paul's (8th Oct. 1191) placed after Longchamp's expulsion.

p. 347. Richard married in Sicily.

p. 351. Isaac Comnenus captured while hiding in a monastery.

p. 368. The Ingeburga scandal (August 1193) is placed before Richard's capture (Dec. 1192), and Philip's proposal to marry the Count Palatine's daughter (in 1194) is made to follow immediately after the news of the imprisonment. (See pp. 368, and 384, 385.)

Other works attributed to William of Newburgh.

A few words must here be added as to other works assigned to Newburgh. We shall see (p. xlvi) that Ussher has attributed to him a treatise "*De rebus Terræ* "*Sanctæ*" which proves to be the early portion of the "*Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.*" Pits does not include this, but gives the following list [1] :—

"*In Cantica Canticorum,*" *Liber unus:* "Crebra "petitionis tuæ postulatio" [2]

"*De regibus Anglorum,*" *libri duo:* "Primum os-"tendenda est origo causæ."

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[1] De illustr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 270.

[2] Leland saw this in the library of Queens' Coll., Camb. See p. xviii, note 1.

Commentariorum liber unus.
Sermonum liber unus.

The last is in the Stowe and Lambeth MSS. and is printed in Hearne's edition, vol. iii. The theological books have not yet been identified.

This attribution of a book "*De regibus Anglorum*" beginning "Primum ostendenda, &c." to our author now proves to be fallacious, for on *fo.* 97 *b.* of Cott. MS. Cleop. A. 1, a compilation mainly founded on Newburgh's real work, we find, after a blank page, the words "*Primum ostendenda est origo causæ qua Willelmus* "*dux Normannorum Angliam appetiit.*"

Nine MSS. of Newburgh's chronicle are now extant. Sir T. Duffus Hardy enumerates eight, but he has omitted the Dublin MS. and one British Museum copy (Add. MS. 24, 981) and has included the Bodleian MS. 712 (2619), a mere compilation into which, however, large portions of Newburgh's work enter. Manuscripts of Newburgh's history.

The complete list comprises the following, the letters subjoined being those by which they are quoted. The grouping shows their relationships. Groups into which they fall.

Group 1	Stowe, 857	(xii. cent.)	(S).
	Lambeth, 73	(xiii. cent.)	(L).
Group 2	Cott. Vesp. B. vi.	(xiii. cent.)	(C).
Group 3	Bodl. Rawl. B. 192 . .	(xiii. cent.)	(B).
	Trin. Coll. Dubl., E. 4. 21	(xiv. cent.)	(D).
	Br. Mus. Addit., 24,981 .	(xv. cent.)	(A).
Group 4	C.C.C. Camb., cclxii. . .	(xiv. cent.)	(G).
	Bodl. Digby 101 . . .	(xiv. cent.)	(O).
	Bibl. Reg. 13 B. ix. . .	(xv. cent.)	(R).

The author's original manuscript is not extant, but careful examination gives reason for thinking that S. C. and possibly B., the leading MSS. of groups 1, 2, and 3, were derived from it.[1] The origin of group 4 is not so certain.

[1] Such indications are to be seen for example in the readings given in the following notes :—1, p. 37 ; 3, p. 40 ; 7 and 8, p. 74 ; 4, p. 80 ; 11, p. 116 ; 1, p. 126 ; 2, p. 140. These instances could be indefinitely multiplied. The case of B., however, presents some difficulties.

Manuscripts. MS. "S."

[S.] The Stowe MS. This MS., which has within the last year become once more available for study, is the one on which Hearne founded his edition of 1719. It is a beautifully written copy in a hand of the 12th cent., of small folio size, with double columns of 32 lines.[1] The hand perhaps changes once or twice, though the differences of style are very slight, so slight as to induce hesitation in pronouncing a definite opinion.

Unfortunately this copy has in two places[2] suffered mutilation, the missing leaves, comprising in all about 34 pages of print, being supplied by a modern transcript. On the first page of the history a 14th cent. hand has written the words *Liber S. Mariæ de Novo Burgo*, and on the preceding fly-leaf we find a small table of contents:—

> "Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de Novoburgo.
> "In hoc volumine continentur hæc:—
> "Historia Anglorum.
> "Omelia super 'Cum loqueretur Jesus ad turbas.'
> "Sermo de Trinitate,
> "Sermo de sancto Albano."

There are various other mediæval notes. One remarks that the canon who wrote the book had seen S. Godric in his old age. Another, at the end, quotes Hoveden as to the date of the death of S. William of York. Perhaps the most interesting are some notes written with a style at the back of the last written page, for these almost obliterated lines may possibly be in the hand of William of Newburgh himself. They seem to be notes of two quotations which he actually uses in his work; the first, of which the words "in bello fortes fuerint," are most easily legible, occurs on p. 11 at line 18, and is derived from Gildas; the second, "quantum cum habentur, tem-

[1] It contains very few errors. Most of these are misspellings, *fideris* (*fœderis*), *loborabat*, &c. The point noticed on p. 172, note 2, shows that it was, as might be expected, taken from the author's rough draft.

[2] The appendix is also defective.

"poralia hæret amor tantum cum subtrahuntur urit "dolor," is used on p. 38, line 3, and is there stated to be from St. Gregory. Manuscripts.

The volume once belonged to Sir Roger Twysden, and was bought "16 *Aug.* 1633, *pretium* 16s." It then belonged to Sir Thomas Sebright, who lent it to Hearne. Later it passed into the Stowe collection, and then fell into the hands of the Lords Ashburnham, and did not become available for study until the sum mer of 1883.

MS. "L."

[L.] The MS. No. 73 in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth is a handsome folio copy of the 13th century, written in double columns of 41 lines.[1] Newburgh's history extends from *fo.* 1 to *fo.* 103 *a.*, and is followed by a sermon on the text, "Cum loqueretur Jesus ad "turbas," which is also found in the Stowe MS. Then, introduced by the words "*Tractatus ejusdem ad eun-* "*dem super hunc versum, 'Benedicamus Patrem et* "*Filium cum Sancto Spiritu,'*" follows the "*Sermo* "*de Trinitate*" complete.

Only a fragment of this sermon appears in S., and a large portion of the "*Sermo de S. Albano,*" complete in L., has in S. lost a considerable part of the beginning.

In the Lambeth copy the "Shepherd" of Hermas concludes the volume. This is not in S. From the words "*Tractatus ejusdem ad eundem,*" we may conclude that William of Newburgh wrote these sermons[2]

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[1] From the following note at the end this copy appears to have belonged to the monks of Buildwas, Shropshire :—"Anno domini mil- "lesimo trecentesimo primo, con- "tentione mota in capitulo generali "apud Cistercium inter abbates de "Savigniaco et de Bildewas, de "paternitate domus sanctæ Mariæ "juxta Dubiliniam, idem capitulum "cognita veritate, tandem diffinivit "sic: 'Filiationem abbatiæ beatæ "'Mariæ juxta Dubiliniam, auditis "'rationibus utriusque partis et "'diligentius examinatis, abbati de "'Bildewas ajudicat Capitulum "'Generale.'"

[2] See Hearne's preface, p. x. note 1.

Manuscripts. and dedicated them, as well as his history, to abbot Ernald of Rievaulx.

There can be little doubt that L. is a copy taken direct from S. The reasons why it has nevertheless been quoted are these: (i.) At the time this edition was begun the Stowe MS. was not accessible, and before it became available the greater part of L. had been collated. (ii.) There are gaps amounting to many pages in S., and as L. thus remains as the basis of a small but yet not inconsiderable part of the edition, a full collation of it with S. in the other portions demonstrates its high authority for the passages in which it has to act as the foundation of the text.

MS. "C." [C.] MS. Cotton, Vesp. B. VI. This is an early 13th century copy presenting the complete text, and is a most valuable manuscript. It is contained in a quarto volume written in double columns of 32 lines.

This volume includes a miscellaneous collection of treatises, Newburgh's History occupying *ff.* 111 to 182 *b*. There is on *fo.* 111 the following note: "Mr. "Savell gave me this book in Trinitie terme, *an°. Dni.* "1569°." This identifies one of the copies referred to by Archbishop Ussher (Hearne's ed. p. 806).

Many peculiarities (see p. 80, note 4) tend to show that it is derived from the author's rough draft, which would on doubt be lent by the canons of Newburgh after their own fair copy had been taken. One special point which a careful examination of this copy has elicited may be noted here. On *fo.* 133, at the foot of the page and in a different hand from the text are the following notes:—

"Anno Domini M°. CLXVIII°. obiit Matildis imperatrix et "Bigodus Abbas noster, cui successit Edwardus.

"Anno Domini MCLXXVI. Impositum est silentium cano-"nicis Sanctæ Frideswide apud Oxoniam a Gileberto London-"ensi episcopo et Rogero Wigornensi episcopo ex mandato "papæ Alexandri iij. ne quam ulterius controversiam adver-

"sus ecclesiam de Oseneia moverent a qua abjudicati fuerant "a . . . . "[1] Manuscripts.

On *fo.* 145 is a note :—

"Anno Domini MCLXXXIII. obiit Edwardus abbas ij. "Oseneiæ, qui præfuit annis xvj. mense uno diebus x. Cui "successit Hugo de Bukyngham."

There is thus no question that this MS. belonged to the Augustine canons of Oseney Abbey, and this fact, by explaining another circumstance, brings us as it were into the actual presence of another early chronicler.

Thomas Wykes.

Late in the 13th century Thomas Wykes was a canon of Oseney, and if we turn to his chronicle in the "*Annales Monastici*,"[2] we find that much of the earlier part of his work, necessarily for remoter times a compilation, consists of extracts from the treatise of William of Newburgh, like himself an Augustinian canon; indeed in his preliminary remarks[3] Wykes has the following passage :—

"Venerabilis Beda, Willelmus de Newburge, Matthæus de "Parys, et plerique prædecessores nostri historiographi famosissimi gesta Anglorum sufficienter conscripserunt, nihil "memorabile relinquentes."

It is hardly to be doubted then that the volume now among the Cottonian MSS. has been handled and perused by Thomas Wykes himself.

MS. "B."

[B.] The MS. in the Bodleian Library catalogued as Rawlinson B. 192 is a late 13th century copy in a cursive hand, and belongs to the group which includes the Dublin fragment and Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 24,981. It is a quarto of 95 leaves, written in double columns of about thirty-six lines and contains no other treatise. The book formerly belonged to Sir J. Jekyll. Several points show that like C. it was derived from an ill-written cursive original.

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[1] Mutilated by the binder.

[2] Vol. iv. The citations from Newburgh end on p. 48.

[3] p. 7.

Manuscripts.

It is amusing to notice that no less than five distinct handwritings appear in the first five and a half columns. Four monks tried to decipher the original they were set to transcribe, each in succession failing, until at the sixth column the work was handed over to the quick, capable penman who carried it through to its close, and who concluded with the astonishing couplet,

Explicit, expliceat : ludere scriptor eat.
Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.

Ascription of the history to William of Rufforth.

The initial rubric reads "*Liber Sanctæ Mariæ, Fratris Willelmi*[1] *monachi de Rufforth.*"

The copyist was certainly a clever scribe, but his swift pen is too often guilty of imperfect and blundered words. Rarely did he stop to correct his errors, trusting to a revision no doubt, but scarcely to the particular one which actually took place,—about a hundred and twenty years later.

This revision has been the source of great perplexity in using the manuscript, but unless otherwise stated all various readings refer to the work of the original hand. The perverting copy must have been as corrupt as Addit. MS. 24,981 or more so, or the so-called corrector must have been guilty of conjectural emendations on a large scale. Happily he quickly grew tired of falsifying and mutilating, and the bulk of the MS., which is valuable, is but little injured. The text is not quite complete, certain chapters having been omitted, apparently being regarded as of little interest.[2]

MS. "D."

[D.] The Dublin manuscript (MS. Trin. Coll. Dublin, E. 4. 21), a fragment containing the 4th and 5th books only, is for several reasons specially important. It is a small quarto, written for the most part in a clear 14th century hand, and is unusually free from contractions.

[1] The rubric at this point is so much rubbed that the word *Willelmi* can be little more than guessed at.

[2] These are : Lib. ii., 14, 15, 20, 21 ; lib. iii., 3, 21 (partially) ; lib. v. is complete.

The component parts of the volume as it now stands are (i.) a metrical version of the Psalms, with a few canticles; (ii.) a metrical treatise, "*De duodecim abusivis* "*seculi*"; (iii.) the 4th and 5th books of Newburgh, extending from *fo.* 52 to *fo.* 155; (iv.) a spurious chapter annexed to Newburgh, written on *ff.* 155 and 156; and lastly, after a blank page (v.) a chronicle of the affairs of the Holy Land, which proves to be a fragment of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.* This, which will be further described below, extends from *fo.* 157 to *fo.* 176 *a.*, and is in a hand which appears nowhere else in the volume.

Manuscripts.

MS. "D." contains part of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi.*

The Newburgh manuscript belongs to the same group as A. and B. That it is not a transcript from the latter, however, is evident from several points; for instance, it contains (see p. 383, note 9) a small passage which B. accidentally omits. The group A. B. D. is the one which is represented by Picard's edition.

Turning to Hearne's edition, pp. 804–807, we find a copy of some notes by Archbishop Ussher as to the peculiarities of the MSS. which belonged to Savile, Bromley, and Josselin written in the copy which belonged to himself. We learn that the Savile[1] and Bromley MSS. contained the following chapters in excess of the archbishop's own copy:—Lib. iii. cap. 13; lib. iv. cap. 36; lib. v. chapters 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, and 33.[2] Josselin's MS. also contained these chapters, except 22, 23, and 33; but it had, and alone had, a chapter, "*De principiis Salahadini et de visione camerarii* "*regis Ierosolimorum,*" following chapter 34.[3] Now

[1] This is now Cott. Vesp. B. vi., see p. xlii.

[2] The Corpus MS. [G.] also omits chapters 6 and 7 of Book V. So also R.

[3] The last genuine chapter of Newburgh (*De concordia,* &c.) and the spurious chapter are in a 14th century hand of very peculiar character.

Manuscripts.

the Dublin MS. contains all the chapters named, except Nos. 22, 23, 24,[1] and 33, and alone of all existing MS. of Newburgh it presents the chapter, "*De principiis.*" The archbishop further notes that the whole of the chapter except the story of the chamberlain's vision, "ex libro Gulielmi. Newbrigensis 'De rebus Terræ "'Sanctæ' desumptum est: qui in eodem Jo. Josse-"lini MS°. exemplari, ejusdem Guilielmi Anglicæ His-"toriæ est subjectus." This treatise, "*De rebus Terræ* "*Sanctæ,*" is in the Dublin MS, and in that alone, and therefore, despite the no doubt accidental discrepancy as to chapter 24 of book v. noted above, we may regard Josselin's MS. as identified with the Dublin copy.

The authorship of the early part of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* wrongly attributed to Newburgh.

The importance of this as regards our author has now to be shown. In the above quotation Ussher speaks of the treatise "*De rebus Terræ Sanctæ*" as having been written by Newburgh, and in Sir T. Duffus Hardy's Catalogue of MSS. the matter is again mentioned.[2] The circumstance on which this statement is grounded is one which has in many other cases given rise to similarly fallacious attributions.

The chapter "*De principiis*" is written in the peculiar hand of the scribe who corrected errors in the Newburgh MS., and who wrote chapter 34 of book v. It furnishes an account of the rise of Saladin, and includes a vision respecting an eagle flying over the Christian army. As an addition to Newburgh's history this narrative is absurdly out of place, the chronicler having

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[1] A difference not noted in Archbishop Ussher's collation of the chapters.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 116. In the same sentence it is erroneously stated that Josselin's MS. was used by Silvius for his edition of 1567. He used a MS. of the G. O. R. group, omitting all the chapters which those MSS. do not contain, and admitting readings peculiar to them, e.g., *ferventibus* (note 1, p. 226). See also the clause on p. 300 (note 13): this is omitted by Silvius.

already recorded the death of Saladin (p. 381). This, however, is not the sole peculiarity, for the first part reappears verbatim on *fo.* 158 *b.*, and the second on *fo.* 59 *b.* of the MS. of the treatise "*De rebus Terræ* "*Sanctæ.*" Here the contents of the chapter are in their due place, but on comparison with the "*Itinera-* "*rium Regis Ricardi*" it will be seen that we have in this MS. no work of Newburgh's, but a hitherto unknown copy of the treatise of Richard the Canon. Manuscripts.

It begins on *fo.* 147 *a.* with the words :—

Special features of the fragment of the *Itinerarium.*

" Solet nonnunquam accidere ut res quantumlibet notas et " eximie gestas . . . "

and ends on *fo.* 176, col. 1, with a remarkable passage which occurs in no other extant manuscript :—

" Fidenter dicimus, quod in Domino obdormierit cujus vita " laudabilis et labem nesciens, cujus obitus non minus mira- " culosus exstitit quam universo exercitui nostro lugendus " libet paulisper digredi et vocitatem stilo succinctiore per- " stringere, ut nec testis virtutibus nec longiore tractu brevi- " tas affectata turbetur."[1]

This point is marked by note 2 on p. 124 of the Rolls edition of the *Itinerarium.* It should be observed that there is not a word in the MS. which indicates the authorship.

This is not the place to go further into the matter, but it is noteworthy that the treatise which was once attributed to Geoffrey de Vincsauf should now prove to have been also attributed to William of Newburgh. It is certain that Newburgh saw the *Itinerarium*, and transfused some of its contents, and it is found juxtaposed with his history in the Dublin MS. Still more, a spurious chapter has been made to act as a link between

[1] This portion of the *Itinerarium* appears as an anonymous chronicle in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, pp. 1150–72. Bongars says " Ejus " nobis copiam fecit Nicolaus Ser- " vinus Regius in Parl. Paris. ad- " vocatus."

Manuscripts. the two works. But for all this the ascription is too absurd for argument.[1]

MS. "A." [A.] Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 24,981. This, like R., is an utterly degraded 15th century copy, but it belongs to the group B. D., and like those MSS. omits some chapters. It was bought recently in Paris, and may have been used by Picard. There are few ornamentations, and the lines run across the entire page.

MS. "G." [G.] The manuscript in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a small folio volume fairly written in double columns of forty lines, and apparently completed by a single scribe. The character of the handwriting leads to the belief that the transcript was made in the earlier half of the fourteenth century. There is no other treatise in the volume.

On examination, this MS. proves to belong to the class which contains Bodleian MS. Digby 101 and B.M. Bibl. Reg. 13. B. ix. It omits the twelve chapters[2] which are left out of the Antwerp edition of 1587, but there is the further peculiarity that in Book I. the chapters which in all editions are numbered 14 and 15 are found in the MS. after Cap. 17.

Even apart from these imperfections of the text, there is but little to be said in favour of this MS. It contains gross mistakes, and these, though not so numerous as in the utterly degraded 15th cent. copies in the British Museum, are still abundant enough to render the copy undesirable for collation.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that the following note printed by Hearne (p. 806) among extracts from Arch-

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[1] No reader of Newburgh's work could entertain the idea. Obviously he had never travelled south of Humber.

[2] See p. lv., note 2. These have been supplied by a hand believed to be that of Josselin, Archbishop Parker's secretary. The mode in which the new pages are introduced gives at first sight the erroneous idea that they are intended to complete a *mutilated* MS.

bishop Ussher's papers is written in the margin of Cap. 36., Lib. iv. in the Corpus MS.:— Manuscripts.

"De hac expulsione conqueritur Nigellus monachus "Cantuar. in epistola ad Willielmum Eliensem."

It would seem probable therefore that the Archbishop had had this copy in his hands.

Three chapters (1–3, Lib. iv.), have been collated with this copy, and a small number of selected readings from it are given at various points.

MS. "O." [O.] The Bodleian MS., Digby 101, referred to above, classes with the Corpus MS., and Brit. Mus. Reg. 13 B. ix. It is a fairly written 14th cent. copy in small quarto. It has been referred to in places, but is not worth collating.

MS. "R." [R.] The British Museum MS., Reg. 13 B. ix. is a large quarto written in double columns, and is one of those astounding productions of the 15th century, which tell eloquently of a lapse from the high purpose of the early monastic system. It is difficult to understand of what service this MS. could have been to its possessors, except as an exercise in the art of conjectural emendation. It is a degraded specimen of the G. and O. group, and omits the chapters which G. has neglected. Some of the decrees of the Lateran council are also omitted.

Points tending to show that Newburgh did not issue a revised copy of his work.

The omission of so many as twelve chapters from the G. O. R. group of MSS. raises the question whether we are to regard them as the representatives of a first edition put forward by the author, and the S., L., and C. groups as the revised work. Apart from the fact that in S., L., and C. the work ends abruptly there is much to negative the idea, and to show that these chapters were omitted by the deliberate choice of the transcribers:—

[i.] The A., B., D. group exhibits a considerably different series of omissions, one or all of these MSS. leaving out the chapters about the council of Tours, S. Godric, Ketell, the decrees of the third Lateran council, the epistle of Gregory, and the four chapters in the fifth book

as to corpses emerging from the grave. Reasons for all these omissions can be assigned. The canon law could be better read elsewhere; Reginald of Durham had written a better account of S. Godric; and the prodigious stories were neither important nor easily credible.

[ii.] The decrees of the third Lateran council, *wholly* omitted from B., are *partially* included in R. Plainly it was a weariness to write out that which would be more satisfactorily read in special treatises on the Canon Law.

[iii.] Though each group contributes desirable corrections of isolated words, only in two or three cases of obvious interpolation does any manuscript supply a supplementary fact, in no case the correction of an historical error.[1] The exceptions relate to the insertions of the names of persons too vaguely indicated in the text. A. for instance inserts "*nomine Adalem*" (p. 31, note 4).[2] These, however, are obvious interpolations from other sources of information.

Newburgh's character as a historian.

Having thus discussed the main points connected with Newburgh's chronicle, the general question of value and historical credibility remains for consideration. The authorities for the reigns of Stephen, Henry, and Richard, distribute themselves very unevenly. For Stephen we have the last portion of the Anglosaxon chronicle and Huntingdon, to whose account Newburgh adds some interesting matter. Then up to varying dates we have Ordericus Vitalis and the Hexham and Rievaulx histories, Malmesbury, the continuation of Florence of Worcester, and the "Gesta Stephani," but from 1154 to 1170 when the clear light of Benedict's chronicle shines across the path there is little, and that little of the most uncertain character.

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[1] R. breaks away once into a refutation of Newburgh's views as to King Arthur. See note 4, p. 15.

[2] C. inserts *Robert* in another place, p. 40, note 1.

Diceto, Gervase, and Hoveden deal with this period, but they are not really contemporary as actual recorders of events, though all lived through the period.

New-burgh's character as a historian.

The "*Draco Normannicus*" of Étienne de Rouen also is contemporary, but it is a poem and is vague where precision would be peculiarly welcome. Unfortunately we are not yet in full possession of the "*Histoire de* "*Guillaume le Maréchal*," though the specimens published exhibit similar faults. The poem, moreover, was not written till about 1230.[1]

Lastly, there is Newburgh, who was a lad of eighteen when this period commenced, and a man of thirty-four when it ended, and who, had he been in a favourable position, would doubtless have left us a luminous history.

His account of these years, "the darkest since the ninth century," is valuable through the scarcity of material for the period. When Benedict takes up the narrative, Newburgh's strong sense and discrimination, his righteous spirit, his eloquent pen, and his ideas in advance of the age still call for our respect and interest us in his story, though his vagueness frequently disappoints us. Of course he must be judged as a historian not as a chronicler, but then the standard must be all the more severe. When we see Benedict mistaking or misplacing, his isolated error does but rouse us to a sense of wonder at his general accuracy. When, however, our historian, our commentator and interpreter, errs in his *obiter dicta*, we hesitate to believe that his conclusions always rest on sound bases of fact.

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[1] This poem gives decided support to the account given by Giraldus of the death illness of Henry II. It shows that *after* the treaty of Azay he went to Chinon, and that while there he lay for three days delirious, saying nothing that could be understood. (Lines 9091–4.)

> En tel peine e en tel dolor
> Fu travalliez tresque al terz jor.
> Il parlout, mais nuls ne saveit
> Prou entendre ke il diseit.

It is therefore impossible, as he died on the 6th, that he could have concluded the treaty on July 4. See p. 278, note 4.

New-burgh's character as a historian.

Assuredly we can trust Newburgh to give us the general ideas of his time. If he is not always in possession of full details, as he sometimes frankly admits, he knows the results of which they are the invisible components, and which formed the public opinion of his day, and we may thus test and regulate the opinions we derive from the detailed and sometimes, though rarely, defective or contradictory utterances of such men as Benedict and Hoveden.

Newburgh's work, though now shown to have far less of the character of an original composition than has hitherto been supposed, is one which no modern historian can afford to ignore, but it should be referred to after other chronicles for the sake of supplemental facts and for general statements fresh from a keen philosophical mind. It would occupy too much space to indicate even a small proportion of the facts as to which Newburgh is the principal authority or as to which he greatly adds to our knowledge, but as mere specimens we may cite the accounts of Archbishop Ealdred, of the siege of Rouen in 1174, of the negotiation between Longchamp and William the Lion, of the outbreak against the Jews in the first year of Richard, and of the affair of William Longbeard. Others have been already casually mentioned. Even so late as the reign of Richard I. when the national records begin to increase in fulness and variety, and Richard of Devizes and the author of the *Itinerarium* vie with Hoveden in giving us information, we cannot dispense with Newburgh's testimony as to home events which, overshadowed by the stirring news pouring in from the East, are not presented to us by any chronicler with the clearness and abundance we could desire. Newburgh has been called a partisan of John, but surely by some one who never studied his work, for if we remember that we are reading the writings of a man who was never to hear either of the murder of Arthur or of the villanies of John's later years we shall be surprised by

merciless exposures of motives which were to lead to those deeds. Again, in his account of the Becket tragedy we are struck by the courageous independence of mind he shows. This impartiality is the more striking as we know that Becket on one occasion actively interfered on behalf of the canons of Newburgh, entreating Pope Alexander III. to save them from the oppressive action of Archbishop Roger of York.[1] In one special instance we may decide that Newburgh fails to help us to the real meaning of events. It is scarcely giving us a clue to the interpretation of Longchamp's acts to say, as Newburgh in effect does, that they were wholly due to a desire for personal aggrandisement. Newburgh's character as a historian.

That the prelate was ambitious and overbearing is indubitable, but there was a real faithfulness to the King and a real endeavour to do what was best for the kingdom under conditions which were overwhelmingly difficult. Working for an absent master who plied him with demands for money, and who issued private instructions annulling public documents, Longchamp stood in an unenviable position bearing the blame of Richard's duplicity on the one hand, and striving on the other to hold secure against a powerful traitor a kingdom in which there were elements apparently capable of reproducing the hideous drama of Stephen's reign. All this we see and much more, and we cannot praise Newburgh as an interpreter at this interesting point. Similarly at an earlier period he inadequately explains for us the quarrels of Henry with his sons which fill so much of the years 1173–1189. Even the story of the celebrated interview at which Richard did homage to Philip in Henry's presence, is narrated, without a hint of underlying causes. Indeed, if our knowledge of Henry's reign were confined to what Newburgh has told us of it

[1] Canon Robertson, Mat. for Hist. of Becket, v. 298.

Newburgh's character as a historian

we should never have heard of Rosamond Clifford, of the Princess Alais,[1] nor even of Eleanor's imprisonment.

A true delineation of policy and personal motives is, of course, essential to the classification of events. The public designs and even the private motives of a prince or powerful minister, when thoroughly revealed to us, cause detached incidents to fall into broad masses, and to become intelligible in their association as well as in their isolation. We can excuse Newburgh for not seeing how valuable posterity would have considered a detailed exposition of Henry's arrangements for the administration of justice, or an account of the industries of the twelfth century, but at a date when a king's private vices were political forces the leading facts as to the three unhappy women named above are necessary elements of a true history, and we marvel that we hear so little of them. It would be ungrateful for us, the living section of that posterity in whose service the sick canon spent his last days, to treat his nobly written pages with any approach to disrespect, but we must bend somewhat to the demand that all things should be shown in true perspective. That reverence should not exaggerate is now perhaps more loudly demanded than that criticism should not unduly diminish; still we must be cautious in both respects, and certainly in endeavouring to settle the rank among ancient historians which is to be allowed to any author no good will be done by general terms of praise. Not the worst tribute to William of Newburgh, who loved truth so well, must surely be a kindly but impartial analysis of his valuable work.[2]

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[1] If the omission of these two cases is attributed to modest reticence, it must be replied that the author could surely tell of a king that which he has told of Bishop Hugh of Durham (lib. v. cap. 11). He only alludes in general terms to Henry's conjugal infidelity.

[2] We may observe the favourable judgment of several mediæval writers as shown by their founding their own histories upon the *His-*

The first edition of Newburgh's history was issued by Silvius, at Antwerp, 12mo., 1567. It omits many chapters [1] and contains a marvellous number of mistakes. It was printed from a manuscript allied to the G.O.R. group, but apparently not now extant. This edition was reprinted by Commeline in a collection of English chronicles (Heidelberg 1587).

Antwerp Edition, 1567.

Heidelberg reprint, 1587.

John Picard published an edition at Paris in 1610,[2] derived from a MS. of the A.B.D. type. A marginal note, p. 17, states that his manuscript adds the words "nomine Adalem" in cap. 4 of Lib. 1. The words occur in Br. M. Addl. MS. 24,981, but Picard has included readings from the Antwerp edition, and has thus rendered it difficult to be certain as to his copy.[3]

Picard's edition, 1610.

This edition, though still not quite complete,[4] and though somewhat incorrect, is much better than the Antwerp volume, the editor having added some useful notes.

The first really complete edition was published by Thomas Hearne in 1719 (Oxford, 3 vols. 8vo.). The third volume contains a reprint of Picard's notes with Hearne's discursive additions, and includes the sermons attributed to Newburgh. This edition is mainly founded on the Stowe MS., the Lambeth copy being used where the former has lost pages.

Hearne's edition, 1719.

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toria Rerum Anglicarum. Thomas Wykes, Walter Hemingburgh, and John Brompton have more or less done this. So also have the anonymous compilers whose works are in Bodl. MS. 712, and Cott. MS. Cleop. A. 1.

[1] Lib. iii., 13 (though the title is duly included in the elenchus); lib. iv. 36; lib. v., 6, 7, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33. Cap. 3 of lib. iii. is deficient, omitting all after the point noted on p. 214, note 7. The same chapter is defective in Picard's edition.

[2] I have not been able to see a copy which bears the date 1632.

[3] He says, "D. Rumetio in Senatu "Parisiensi Advocato gratias age ". . . Perhumane commodavit "vetus exemplar."

[4] Omitting the greater part of the decrees of the Third Lateran Council.

It is the fashion to decry Hearne's work, but so far as he has been able to use the best MS. he has made but very few blunders. For the remainder he has been compelled to trust to a friend's transcript, and there are several errors within the compass of a few pages.

Hamilton's edition, 1856.

The fourth edition was published in 1856 by the English Historical Society, and was edited by Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton. The editor was evidently unable to get access to the Stowe MS, and he therefore founded his edition on the Lambeth copy, collating with Hearne's edition, the Cottonian MS. Vesp. B. VI., and with MS. Bibl. Reg. 13 B. IX.

This edition has been of the greatest service in the preparation of the present volumes.

The present edition.

5. The present edition was also originally founded on the Lambeth MS. (L.), but the basis was shifted after the purchase of the Ashburnham MSS. to the Stowe copy (S.). The text has been fully collated also with the Cottonian MS. (C.), and one of the Oxford copies. (Rawl. B. 192).

The fourth and fifth books have also been collated with the Dublin fragment, and many readings from the other manuscripts have been included in the notes.

The collation with the two principal MSS., the Stowe and the Cottonian, has been the subject of special care, but the Rawlinson and Lambeth MSS. have been only once read.

Various readings: attempts to reduce their number.

In order to keep down as far as possible the rising flood of various readings, the following rules have been observed :—

1. Variations in the spelling of classical names are not recorded.

2. Errors in orthography are not noticed when it is clear what word was intended.

3. Variations in certain proper names (a full list of which is given at the foot of the present page) are not included.[1] Such variations as *Turci, Thurci, Turchi, Willelmus, Wilelmus, Guilelmus, Gulielmus,* &c. can have no interest.

The foregoing analytical statement as to the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* has already run to an unexpected length, and any remarks which it may seem desirable to offer as to the times in which and of which William of Newburgh wrote must be reserved for the second volume.

I have in conclusion to express my sincere thanks to my friend Mr. Walter Rye for much assistance of a varied character. Another friend, Mr. Newenham Travers, has given me ready help in revising the proof sheets.

RICHARD HOWLETT.

Bromley, Kent,
June 1884.

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[1] Wholly neglected :—
Willelmus, Saracensi, Londoniæ, Scotti, Turci, Rothomagus, Wintonia, Salesbiriensis, Aquitania, Tholomaida.
Frequently neglected :—
Northumbria, Ranulphus de Glanville, Thomas, Leicestria, Flandrensis, Octavianus, Walenses, Arragones, Tiberias, Notingeham, Guido, Cinomannensis, Baldewinus.
Their derivatives are also excluded to the same extent.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 34, margin, *for* "York" *read* "Yorkshire."

p. 116, note [6] { The letter *m* has dropped out of *notum* and the number of the note (6) has also disappeared.

p. 120, note [2], and p. 136, note [1] } *for* "Labbé" *read* "Labbe."

p. 131, margin opposite Cap. XIII. and at the head of p. 132. } *for* 1160 *read* 1166 (the authorities are given in note [11] on p. 134).

p. 227, note [3]. Dele "S."

p. 278, note [4] { The newly discovered "*Histoire de Guillaume le* "*Maréchal*" confirms Giraldus. See Preface to this volume, p. li, note [1].

p. 239 note [8] { The letters composing the name Barbarossa have become disarranged.

WILLELMI PARVI, CANONICI DE NOVOBURGO, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.

R 8918. Wt. 11479.

WILLELMI PARVI, CANONICI DE NOVOBURGO, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.

Epistola[1] *Willelmi viri religiosi, canonici de Novoburgo, præfationalis operis sequentis et apologetica ad Abbatem Rievallis.*[2]

Reverendo[3] patri et domino Ernaldo,[4] abbati Rievallis,[5] suus Willelmus,[6] servorum Christi minimus cum apparuerit Princeps pastorum immarcescibilem percipere gloriæ coronam. Literas sanctitatis vestræ suscepi, quibus mihi studium et operam rerum memorabilium, quæ nostris temporibus copiosius provenerunt,[7] ad[8] notitiam cautelamque posterorum conscribendarum dignatur ingerere; cum ex illo venerabili filiorum vestrorum collegio plures vobis suppetant, qui hoc opus commodius valeant atque elegantius adimplere. Sed, ut video, pia prudentia vestra propriis filiis, circa observantiam militiæ regularis sudantibus, in hac parte ducens parcendum, indultum misericorditer infirmitati meæ otium non patitur esse otiosum. Et quidem vestræ circa me dignationi tanta sum devotione astrictus, ut, etiam si fortiora jubeatis, non audeam

Prefatory letter addressed to Ernald, abbot of Rievaulx.

[1] *Epistola, &c.*, as above, L S.; *Epistola Willelmi viri religiosi, canonici Noviburgi, ad Edelredum Abbatem Rievallis*, C.; om. B.

[2] *Rievallis*, C.S.; *Rievvallis*, L.

[3] *Reverendo*, C.L.S.; *reverentissimo*, B.

[4] *Ernaldo*, L.S.; *Edelredo*, C.; *E.*, B.G.R. Ernald, abbot of Melrose, became abbot of Rievaulx March 2, 1189, and resigned in 1199. Abbot Ailred (*Ethelredus* or *Ealredus*) died on the 12th of January, 1166.

[5] *Rievallis*, C.S.; *Rievvallis*, L.; *Ryevallis*, B.

[6] *Willelmus*, L.S.; *W.*, A.B.C.R.

[7] *provenerunt*, B.C.S.; *pervenerunt?* L.

[8] *ad*, B.C.L.S.; *et ad*, R.

contraire. Nunc autem cum cauta discretio vestra, non altis scrutandis, mysticisque rimandis insistere, sed in narrationibus historicis præcipiat spatiari ad tempus, tanquam pro quadam ex facilitate operis recreatione ingenii, multo [1] magis excusandi mihi occasio tollitur. Itaque in [2] adjutorio Dei et Domini nostri, in cujus manu [3] sunt et nos et sermones nostri, fretus orationibus vestris, et sanctorum filiorum vestrorum, qui præcepto sanctitatis vestræ suas non contemnendas preces dignati sunt sociare, opus injunctum aggrediar; pauca sane, quæ ad rem pertinent, ante historiæ ingressum prælibans.

EXPLICIT EPISTOLA.[4]

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[1] *multo*, B.C.L.S.; *tanto*, R.
[2] *in*, C.L.S.; erased from B.; om. A.
[3] *manu*, B.L.S.; *manus*, C.
[4] *Explicit Epistola*, L.S.; om. A.B.C.

LIBER PRIMUS.

A.D. 1066–1154.

Incipiunt Capitula Primi Libri.[1]

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[1] *Incipiunt . . . libri*, L.S.; om. C.; these words and the entire elenchus are omitted by A.B.R.

[2] *Procemium . . . historiæ*, L.S.; om. C.

[3] *Rufo*, L.S.; *Ruffo*, C.

[4] *quibusdam*, L.S., *quibusdam aliis*, C.

[5] *Salesbiriensi*, C.S.; *Salesbriensi*, L.

[6] *Stephanus*, L.S.; *rex Stephanus*, C.

[7] *amiserit*, L.S.; *amisit*, C.

[8] *est apud*, L.S.; *est in bello apud*, C.

[9] *Oxenefordia*, L.S.; *Oxneford*, C.

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1 *Thurstino*, L.S.; *Turstino*, C.
2 *Rievallis*, C.S.; *Rievvallis*, L.
3 *Bellelandæ*, L.S.; *Bellandiæ*, C.
4 *Gilleberto Sempingamensi*, S.; *Gilberto Sempringamensi*, L.; *Gilberto Sempingamensi*, C.
5 *instituit*, L.S.; *constituit*, C.
6 *successerit*, C.; *successit*, L.S.
7 *Lodovicus*, S.; *Lodowicus*, C.L.
8 *de*, L.S.; om. C.
9 *Malcolmo*, L.S.; *Malcolono*, C.

Expliciunt capitula.[3]

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[1] *et . . . ejus*, L.S.; om. C.
[2] *secundi*, L.S.; *secundi in Anglia*, C.
[3] C. omits these words.

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS.

Proœmium sequentis Historiæ.[1]

Historiam gentis nostræ, id est,[2] Anglorum, venerabilis presbyter et monachus Beda conscripsit. Qui nimirum, præsumpto altius exordio, ut ad id quod specialiter intendebat competentius accederet, etiam Britonum, qui nostræ insulæ primi incolæ fuisse noscuntur, celebriora subtili brevitate gesta perstrinxit. Early historians: Bede.

Habuit autem gens Britonum ante nostrum Bedam proprium historiographum Gildam, quod et Beda testatur, quædam ejus verba suis literis inserens: sicut ipse probavi, cum ante annos aliquot in ejusdem Gildæ librum legendum incidissem. Cum enim sermone sit admodum impolitus atque insipidus, paucis eum vel transcribere vel habere curantibus, raro invenitur. Integritatis tamen[3] ejus non leve documentum est, quia in veritate promenda propriæ genti non parcit, et cum admodum parce bona de suis loquatur, multa in eis mala deplorat; nec veretur, ut verum non taceat, Brito de Britonibus scribere, quod nec in bello fortes fuerint, nec in pace fideles. At contra quidam nostris temporibus, pro expiandis his Britonum maculis, scriptor emersit, ridicula de eisdem[4] figmenta contexens, eosque longe supra virtutem Macedonum et Romanorum impudenti vanitate attollens. Gildas. Strict impartiality of Gildas. The fictions put forward by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

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[1] *historiæ*, L.S.; *operis*, C. The words are erased from B.

[2] *gentis . . . est*, C.G.L.R.S.; om. A.B.

[3] *tamen*, B.C.R.S.; *igitur tamen*, L.

[4] *eisdem*, B.C.R.S.; *ejusdem*, L.

Gaufridus[1] hic dictus est, agnomen habens Arturi,[2] pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo, ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumptas et ex proprio auctas, per superductum Latini sermonis colorem honesto historiæ nomine palliavit: qui etiam majori ausu cujusdam Merlini divinationes fallacissimas, quibus utique de proprio plurimum adjecit, dum eas in Latinum transfunderet, tanquam authenticas et immobili veritate subnixas prophetias, vulgavit. Et hunc quidem[3] Merlinum patre incubo dæmone ex femina natum fabulatur, cui propterea tanquam patrissanti[4] excellentissimam atque latissimam tribuit præscientiam futurorum: cum profecto et veris rationibus et sacris literis doceamur dæmones, a luce Dei seclusos,[5] futura nequaquam contemplando præscire: sed quosdam futuros eventus ex signis sibi quam nobis[6] notioribus, conjiciendo magis quam cognoscendo colligere. Denique in suis quamvis subtilioribus conjecturis sæpe falluntur et fallunt: cum tamen per divinationum præstigias[7] apud imperitos, quam utique[8] non habent, præscientiam sibi arrogent futurorum. Sane divinationum Merlini perspicua fallacia est in his quæ in regno Anglorum contigisse noscuntur post mortem prænominati Gaufridi, qui divinationum illarum nenias ex Britannico transtulit; quibus, ut non frustra creditur,[9] ex proprio figmento multum adjecit. Porro ad ea, quæ vel ante ipsum vel in diebus ejus evenerunt, taliter sua, quod utique facile poterat, temperavit figmenta, ut congruam possent interpretationem recipere. Præterea in libro suo, quem

In rendering the false prophecies of Merlin into Latin Geoffrey added fables of his own invention.

Breton source of Geoffrey's fictions.

His manipulation of prophetical utterances according

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[1] *Gaufridus*, B.C.L.S.; *Galfridus*, A.

[2] *Arturi*, C.L.S. *Arthuri*, A.B.

[3] *quidem*, B.L.S.; *quicquid*, C.

[4] *patrissanti*, B.C.L.S.; *patris sancti*, G.R.

[5] L. has *exclusos*.

[6] *nobis*, originally omitted from B.

[7] *præstigias*, A.B.L.S.; *præstigia*, C.R.

[8] *utique*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[9] *creditur*, B.C.L.S.; *credatur*, R.

Britonum[1] historiam vocat, quam petulanter et quam[2] impudenter fere per omnia mentiatur, nemo nisi veterum historiarum ignarus, cum in librum illum[3] inciderit, ambigere sinitur. Nam qui rerum gestarum[4] veritatem non didicit, fabularum vanitatem indiscrete admittit. Omitto quanta de gestis Britonum ante Julii Cæsaris imperium homo[5] ille confinxerit, vel ab aliis conficta tanquam authentica scripserit. Omitto quæcunque in laudibus Britonum contra fidem[6] historicæ veritatis deliravit, a tempore Julii Cæsaris, sub quo Britones ditionis Romanæ[7] esse cœperunt, usque ad tempus Honorii imperatoris, sub quo Romani a Britannia, propter urgentiora Reipublicæ negotia, sponte recesserunt.

to the facts of his time. Their fallacy shown by later events.

In criticising Geoffrey's work Newburgh passes over pretended events previous to the end of the Roman occupation.

Certe Britones, Romanis recedentibus, sui juris effecti, immo ad suam perniciem sibi relicti, Pictisque et Scottis ad prædam expositi, regem Vortigirnum[8] habuisse leguntur; a quo ad tuitionem regni invitati Saxones vel Angli, duce Hengisto, Britanniam venerunt; irruptiones barbaricas pro tempore depulerunt; postea vero explorata insulæ fertilitate, et indigenarum inertia, rupto fœdere, in ipsos, a quibus fuerant invitati, arma verterunt; quibus paulatim profligatis,[9] miseras eorum reliquias, quæ nunc[10] Walenses vocantur, inviis[11] montibus et saltibus coarctarunt. Habueruntque[12] per seriem successionis reges fortissimos et late domi-

Bede's narrative of the coming of the Saxons.

The succession of Saxon kings

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[1] *Britonum*, B.L.R.S.; *Brittonum*, C.

[2] *quam*, B.C.L.R.S.; om. A.

[3] *illum*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[4] *gestarum*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[5] *imperium homo*, B.C.L.S.; *imperium adventum homo*, R.

[6] *fidem*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[7] *Romanæ esse*, B.C.L.S.; *humanæ*, omitting *esse*, R.

[8] *Vortigirnum*, L.R.S.; *Vorteyirnum*, B.C.

[9] *profligatis*, B.L.S.; *profugatis*, C.

[10] *nunc*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[11] *inviis*, C.S.; *in inviis*, A.B.L.R.

[12] *habueruntque*, B.C.L.S.; *habuerunt*, R.

according to authentic history, both north and south of the Humber.

nantes: e quibus fuere Ethelbertus, Hengisti pronepos, qui protenso a Gallico mari usque ad Humbrum[1] imperio, lene[2] Christi jugum, Augustino prædicante, suscepit: Ailfridus[3] qui,[4] Nothanhumbranis[5] præsidens, Britones simul et Scottos vasta cæde perdomuit: Edwinus qui, Ailfrido succedens, Anglis simul et Britonibus præfuit: Oswaldus ejus successor, qui cunctis Britanniæ populis imperavit. Hæc cum juxta historicam veritatem[6] a venerabili Beda expositam constet[7] esse rata; cuncta, quæ homo ille de Arturo[8] et ejus vel[9] successoribus vel, post Vortigirnum,[10] prædecessoribus[11] scribere curavit, partim ab ipso, partim et[12] ab aliis constat esse conficta; sive effrenata mentiendi libidine, sive etiam gratia placendi Britonibus, quorum plurimi tam bruti esse feruntur, ut adhuc Arturum tanquam venturum exspectare dicantur, cumque[13] mortuum nec audire patiantur. Denique Vortigirno[14] facit succedere Aurelium Ambrosium, devictis expulsisque Saxonibus, quos Vortigirnus[14] accersierat, in tota Britannia egregie imperantem; illique dat successorem Utherpendragon fratrem ejus,[15] non impari potentia gloriaque regnantem: plura de Merlino suo profusa mentiendi libertate interserens. Defuncto quoque Utherpen-

Events as told by Bede conflict with Geoffrey's narrative.

Geoffrey's mythical genealogy of Arthur.

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[1] *Humbrum*, B.L.S.; *Umbrum*, C.

[2] *lene*, S.; *lene* with *et leve* written above by another hand, L.; *leve*, A.B.C. The word in the Vulgate is *suave*.

[3] *Ailfridus*, C.L.S.; *Aylfridus*, A.B.

[4] *qui*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[5] *Nothanhumbranis*, L.S.; *Northumbranis*, C.; *Northahumbranis*, B.R.

[6] *historicam veritatem*, B.L.S.; *historiam*, C.

[7] *constet*, B.L.S.; *constent*, C.R.

[8] *Arturo*, C.L.S.; *Arthuro*, B.

[9] *ejus vel*, B.C.S.; but *vel* expuncted in L.

[10] *Vortigirnum*, L.S.; *Wortegirnum*, C.; *Votegirnum*, B.

[11] *prædecessoribus*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[12] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[13] *cumque . . . patiantur*, C.R.S.; om. B.L.

[14] Variations as in note 11.

[15] *ejus*, B.L.S.; *suum*, C.

dragon facit succedere Arturum filium[1] in regno Britanniæ,[2] a Vortigirno[3] quartum; sicut noster Beda ponit Ethelbertum, Augustini susceptorem, in regno Anglorum ab Hengisto quartum. Itaque regnum Arturi et ingressus in Britanniam Augustini concurrere debuerunt.[4] Sed quantum mera historiæ veritas hoc loco compositæ[5] præjudicet falsitati, vel lippienti mentis acie clare[6] videri potest. Ipsum autem[7] Arturum facit præclarum et spectabilem super omnes homines, tantumque illum[8] in gestis vult esse, quantum sibi libuit fingere. Denique in primis facit eum de Anglis,[9] Pictis, et Scottis ad libitum triumphare: deinde[10] Hiberniam, Orchades, Gothiam, Noricam, Daciam, partim bello, partim etiam solo terrore nominis, ditioni suæ subjugare. His quoque addit Islandiam,[11] quæ ultima Thule[12] secundum quosdam dicitur; ut ad Britonem illum in veritate spectare videatur, quod Augusto Romano a poeta nobili adulatorie[13] dicitur:

Arthur would take the legitimate place of Ethelbert as fourth from Hengist. Arthur must thus have been reigning when Augustine came. Attribution of extravagant triumphs to Arthur. He overruns the whole of Northern Europe.

Verg. Georg. I. 30. . . . . tibi serviet[14] ultima Thule.[15]

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[1] *filium*, B.C.L.S.; *filium suum*, R.

[2] *Britanniæ*, C.L.S.; *Bertanniæ*, B.

[3] *Vortigirno*, A.L.S.; *Vortegirno*, B.C.

[4] Between *debuerunt* and the paragraph which follows (*Sed . . . potest*), R. inserts "*non tamen sicut* "*auctor istius voluminis rationatur* "(sic), *quoniam Arturus coronatus* "*est in regem anno D°* (sic) xvj°. "*Sed vero Augustinus ingressus* "*est in Britanniam anno gratiæ* "(sic) *Domini* *et dictus* "*Arturus obiit Anno Domini* xlij°, "*et sic Augustinus post mortem* "*Arturi venit in Angliam anno* "liiij°, *ut clare patet in Floribus* "*Historiarum annis supradictis.*"

[5] *compositæ*, B.C.L.S.; *composito*, R.

[6] *clare*, B.C.L.S.; *dare*, R.

[7] *autem*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[8] *illum*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[9] *de Anglis*, C.L.S.; *Anglis*, B., *de Anglia*, R.

[10] *deinde*, B.C.L.S.; *denique*, R.

[11] *Islandiam*, L.S.; *Yslandiam*, C.; *Illandiam*, B.

[12] *ultima Tile*, B.C.L.S.; *ultima, Tyle*, G.R.

[13] *adulatorie*, L.S.; *adulatore*, A.B.C.

[14] Corrupt reading for *serviat*.

[15] B.C.L.S. as in note 12.

He then conquers Gaul.

Deinde facit eum bello pulsare Gallias,[1] et de ipsis in brevi subactis felicissime triumphare; quas Julius Cæsar cum summis periculis atque laboribus annis decem vix[2] potuit subjugare: scilicet, ut minimus digitus hujus Britonis grossior videatur lumbis magni Cæsaris. Post hæc[3] cum triumpho multiplici reducit eum in Britanniam, et facit eum cum subactis regibus et principibus festum celebrare famosissimum; præsentibus tribus Britonum archiepiscopis, scilicet Lundoniarum,[4] Urbis legionum,[5] Eboracæ[6]: cum ne unum quidem archiepiscopum unquam habuerunt[7] Britones. Primus enim Augustinus, accepto a Romano pontifice pallio, archiepiscopus in Britannia factus est. Barbaræ vero nationes Europæ, etiam[8] olim ad fidem Christi conversæ, contentæ episcopis, de pallii prærogativa non curabant. Denique Hibernienses, Norici,[9] Daci, Gothi, cum olim Christiani fuisse et episcopos habuisse noscantur,[10] nostris temporibus archiepiscopos habere cœperunt. Inde fabulator ille, ut suum Arturum ad summum evehat, facit eum Romanis bellum indicere; ante hoc bellum singulari certamine miræ magnitudinis gigantem prosternere; cum post Davidica tempora de nullo gigante legatur. Consequenter, profusiori mentiendi licentia, facit adversus eum convenire cum Romanis reges magnos orbis terrarum, scilicet, Græciæ, Africæ, Hispaniæ, Parthorum, Medorum, Ituræorum, Libyæ, Ægypti, Babyloniæ, Bithy-

Three archbishops said to have been present at his triumphal feast, whereas the Britons never had any archbishop.

After slaying a giant he conquers the Roman empire, defeating the combined forces of all nations in a single battle.

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[1] *Gallias*, B.L.S.; *Galliam*, C.

[2] *annis decem vix*, B.L.S.; *vix annis decem*, C.

[3] *hæc*, B.L.S.; *hoc?*, C.

[4] *Lundoniarum*, L.S.; *Londoniarum*, B.C., but the MSS. throughout vary the vowel in the first syllable of this constantly recurring word too frequently to warrant the mention of their peculiarities.

[5] In S. above *Urbis legionum* are the words "*id est Cestriæ*" in an ancient hand.

[6] *Eboracæ*, B.C.S.; *Eboraci*, A., and, by correction, L.

[7] *unquam habuerunt*, A.S.: *nunquam habuerunt*, L, *unquam habuerint*, B.C.

[8] *etiam*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[9] *Norici*, C.L.S.; *Nori*, A.B.

[10] *noscantur*, B.L.S.; *noscuntur*, C.

niæ, Phrygiæ, Syriæ,[1] Bœotiæ, Cretæ;[2] omnesque refert uno prœlio ab illo devictos: cum Alexander ille Magnus et omnibus seculis clarus, per annos duodecim in quibusdam tantorum regnorum principibus superandis sudaverit. Profecto minimum digitum sui Arturi grossiorem facit dorso Alexandri Magni, præsertim cum, ante hanc victoriam[3] de tot magnis regibus, faciat eum commemorare suis in concione subactionem triginta regnorum, a se et illis jam factam. At[4] non inveniet fabulator noster tot regna in orbe nostro, præter regna memorata, quæ utique nondum ille subegerat. An alium orbem somniat infinita regna habentem, in quo ea contigerunt, quæ supra memoravit? Quippe in orbe nostro nunquam talia contigerunt. Quomodo enim[5] historiographi veteres, quibus ingenti curæ fuit nihil memorabile scribendo omittere, qui etiam mediocria memoriæ mandasse noscuntur, virum incomparabilem, ejusque acta supra modum insignia, silentio præterire potuerunt? Quomodo, inquam, vel nobiliorem Alexandro Magno Britonum monarcham Arturum, ejusque acta, vel parem nostro Esaiæ Britonum prophetam Merlinum, ejusque dicta, silentio suppresserunt? Quid enim minus in præscientia[6] duntaxat futurorum tribuit[7] suo Merlino, quam nos nostro Esaiæ: nisi quod ejus vaticiniis non audet inserere, "hæc dicit Dominus," et erubuit inserere, "hæc dicit diabolus;" quippe hoc debuit congruere vati, incubi dæmonis filio. Cum ergo nec tenuem de his veteres historici fecerint[8] mentionem,

The tale of his conquests is in excess of the number of the kingdoms of the world.

Has the minute care of ancient historians overlooked a conqueror greater than Alexander and a prophet equal to Isaiah?

[1] *Phrygiæ, Syriæ,* C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[2] Variations in the spelling of these and other classical proper names are omitted.

[3] *victoriam,* L.R.S.; *historiam,* B.C.

[4] *at,* B.L.S.; *an,* C.

[5] *enim,* C.L.S.; *etiam,* A.B.

[6] *præscientia,* C.L.S.; *præsentia,* A.B.

[7] *tribuit,* A.B.C.; om. L.S.

[8] *fecerint,* B.S.; *fecerunt,* C.L.

liquet a mendacibus esse conficta quæcunque de Arturo atque Merlino, ad pascendam minus prudentium curiositatem, homo ille scribendo vulgavit. Et[1] notandum, quod eundem Arturum postea refert in bello letaliter vulneratum, regno disposito, ad curanda vulnera sua abiisse in illam, quam Britannicæ fingunt fabulæ, insulam Avallonis: propter metum Britonum non audens eum dicere mortuum, quem adhuc vere bruti Britones exspectant venturum. De successoribus vero Arturi pari[2] impudentia mentitur; tribuens eis usque ad septimam fere generationem Britanniæ monarchiam: faciensque eorum subregulos et ministros, quos venerabilis Beda fortissimos dicit fuisse reges Anglorum, universæ Britanniæ nobiliter imperantes. Ut ergo eidem Bedæ, de cujus sapientia et sinceritate dubitare fas non est, fides in omnibus habeatur; fabulator ille cum suis fabulis incunctanter ab omnibus respuatur. Sane post Bedam non defuere, qui ab ipso seriem temporum atque eventuum nostræ insulæ ad nostram usque memoriam ducerent[3]; illi quidem minime comparandi[4]; pro religiosa tamen opera et fideli, quanquam minus diserta[5] narratione, laudandi. Nostris autem temporibus tanta et tam memorabilia contigerunt, ut modernorum negligentia culpanda merito censeatur, si literarum monumentis ad memoriam sempiternam mandata non fuerint. Et forte hoc opus ab aliquo, sive[6] aliquibus, jam vel[7] inchoatum est, vel patratum: sed tamen viri venerabiles, quibus mos gerendus est, hoc ipsum meæ[8] par-

Geoffrey, yielding to Breton superstition, invented the story of the passing of Arthur to Avilion.

The pretended successors of Arthur.

Chroniclers after Bede.

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[1] *et*, C L.S.; om. A.B.
[2] *pari*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[3] *ducerent*, B.L.R.S.; *duxerint*, C.
[4] *comparandi*, B.L.S.; *cooperandi*, C.
[5] *diserta*, C.L.S., *deserta*, A.B.
[6] *sive*, B.C.S.; *sive ab*, L.
[7] *vel*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.
[8] *ipsum meæ*, B.C.L.S.; *ipsum et me*, R.

vitati[1] dignantur injungere; ut et ego, quia cum divitibus non possum, saltem cum paupercula vidua aliquid de tenuitate mea mittam in gazophylacium Domini.

Quoniam vero Anglicanæ ordinem historiæ a quibusdam usque ad decessum regis Henrici primi novimus esse deductum; sumpto ab adventu Normannorum in Angliam exordio, media tempora succincte percurram; ut a successore ejusdem Henrici Stephano, cujus anno primo ego Willelmus servorum Christi minimus[1] et in Adam primo ad mortem sum natus, et in Secundo ad vitam renatus, narrationem, Deo volente, incipiam producere pleniorem.[2]

The author takes up the history at the point at which other chroniclers have stopped, beginning, after a brief preface, at the year of his own birth.

[1] The word *minimus* in the phrase "*Willelmus servorum Christi minimus*" at the beginning of the letter to Abbot Ernald (p. 3, l. 2), when taken in connexion with the word *parvitati* here and with the recurring phrase "*Willelmus &c.*" below on l. 11, has the appearance of a play upon the author's reputed name *Parvus*. Another play on a name, *Benedictus* becoming *Maledictus*, occurs in cap. ix., lib. iv.

[2] C. has here "*Explicit proœmium. Incipit Liber primus.*"

CAP. I.

De Willelmo Notho, primo ex Normannis rege Anglorum.

A.D. 1066.

The Norman conquest.

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis, MᴼLXᴼVIᴼ, Guillelmus [1] cognomento Nothus, dux Normannorum, Haraldo [2] regi Anglorum, vel dominandi libidine, vel causā ulciscendi injurias, bellum intulit: quo Haraldo bellica sorte absumpto, Anglisque expugnatis atque subactis, ducatui Normanniæ regnum Angliæ sociavit. Cumque peracta victoria, tyranni nomen exhorrescens, et legitimi principis personam induere gestiens,[3] a Stigando, tunc temporis Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in regem sollemniter consecrari deposceret; ille, viro, ut aiebat, cruento et alieni juris invasori, manus imponere nullatenus acquievit. Aldredus vero Eboracensis archiepiscopus, vir bonus et prudens, hoc munus implevit: acutius intelligens cedendum [4] esse tempori, et divinæ nequaquam resistendum ordinationi. Denique hoc modo hominem ferocissimum, spirantem adhuc minarum et cædis in populum, mitem reddidit; et religiosis pro conservanda publica, tuendaque ecclesiastica disciplina, sacramentis astrinxit. A quo postea loco patris ita colebatur, ut cum ille ceteris imperaret, ab eo sibi imperari æquanimiter sineret. Contigit aliquando eundem pontificem, in [5] quadam petitione a rege repulsam passum, iratum avertere scapulam recedentem, et maledictionem pro benedictione comminari. Cujus motum

The anxiety of Duke William to put on the appearance of a lawful sovereign. Coronation of William I. (December 25).

Archbishop Ealdred's discreet conduct gains him influence over the new king.

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[1] *Guillelmus*, S.: *Guillelmus*, B.L.; *Willelmus*, C.

[2] *Haraldo*, B.L.S.; *Araldo*, C.

[3] *gestiens*, A.C.L.S.; *gestans*, B.

[4] *cedendum*, B.C.S.; *credendum*, L.

[5] *in*, B.L.S.; *a*, C.

A.D. 1066.

Anecdote of the Conqueror and archbishop Ealdred.

ille non sustinens, ad pedes ejus procidit; veniam petiit; satisfactionem spopondit. Cumque optimates qui aderant suaderent, ut regem prostratum erigeret: "Sinite," inquit, "illum jacere ad pedes Petri." Plane in hoc et quanta fuerit ferocissimi principis erga præsulem reverentia, et quanta ejusdem præsulis circa principem auctoritas atque fiducia, satis declaratum est. Porro idem rex a Stigando Cantuariensi, ut dictum est, irritatus, cum vitium ordinationis ejus et vitæ dedecora postea cognovisset, honestam de ipso voluit habere ultionem. Accersitus enim regiis literis[1] ad disponendam ecclesiam Anglicanam, Apostolicæ sedis legatus concilium in Anglia celebravit: in quo, Stigandi sceleribus patefactis, infructuosam arborem securis[2] canonicæ animadversionis succidit. Locum vero succisæ suscepit Lanfrancus, ex monacho Beccensi abbas Cadomensis, natione Longobardus; vir præter religiosæ vitæ meritum, in utraque literatura, seculari scilicet et divina, clarissimus. Aldredo quoque Eboracensi ad patres suos apposito Thomas successit. Guillelmus[3] autem, postquam regnum fortiter acquisitum per annos xxi. nobiliter tenuit, cum jam sub extrema sorte decumberet, tres filios designavit heredes. Et quidem Robertum primogenitum suum, quia paternæ pietati inofficiosus et rebellis exstiterat, ducatu Normanniæ contentum esse voluit. Sui vero nominis filio, in quo sibi melius complacebat, regnum Angliæ assignavit. Porro juniorem Henricum, cujus indolem propensius laudabat, multa summa donatum bene acturum prædixit.

Proceedings against Stigand (April, 11, 1070).

Election of Lanfranc (Aug. 29, 1070).

Death of William I. (Sept. 9, 1087).

Dormivit ergo cum patribus suis homo ab annis adolescentiæ armis acer, animo ingens, successu felix,

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[1] *enim regiis literis*, C.L.S.; *literis regis*, B.; *enim literis regis*, A.

[2] *securis*, C.L.S.; *securi*, by erasure, B.; *secure*, A.

[3] *Guillelmus*, C.S.; *Gwillelmus*, B.L.; These variations occur *passim*, and will not be further recorded. In one part S. has the form *Wilelmus*.

A.D. 1087.

His burial, and the claim of Ascelin Fitz-Arthur.

singulare nothorum decus: sepultusque est Cadomi in monasterio Protomartyris Stephani, quod ipse a fundamentis exstruxerat, egregieque ditaverat. In ejus vero sepultura quiddam memorabile contigisse fideli narratione cognovi. Cum enim, expleta exsequiarum sollemnitate, corpus ejus in loco ad hoc præparato esset condendum; quidam accedens, omnipotentis Dei prætento terribiliter nomine, eum ibidem sepeliri prohibuit; "terra," inquiens, "ista avito[1] mihi jure com-"petit; quam idem rex, dum monasterium construeret, "violenter mihi abstulit, nec unquam postea pro ea[2] "mihi satisfecit." Obstupuere omnes qui aderant, judicio Dei, ad declarandam transitoriæ dominationis vanitatem, actum considerantes; ut princeps potentissimus, qui tam late dominatus fuerat vivus, locum corporis sui capacem sine querela non haberet mortuus. Denique[3] querela illa adeo movit omnes, ut prius illi cani vivo, tanquam meliori, ad votum satisfacerent; ac deinde circa leonem mortuum justa complerent.

Sym. Dunelm. col. 211. l. 4.

Cf. Orderic. Vital. (Migne, 554. B.)

Sane quod[4] idem Christianos innoxios hostiliter Christianus impetiit, et tanto sibi sanguine Christiano regnum paravit, quantæ apud homines gloriæ, tantæ etiam apud Deum noxæ fuit. Cujus rei argumentum est quod a testibus fide dignis accepimus. In loco siquidem ubi victi[5] Angli occubuerunt constructum est a victoribus monasterium nobile beati Martini de Bello nuncupatum; quod scilicet et ad homines æternus[6] foret[7] Normannicæ victoriæ titulus, et ad Deum propitiatio pro effusione tanti sanguinis Christiani. Denique in eodem[8] monasterio locus ille ubi Anglorum pro patria dimicantium maxima[9] strages facta est, si

Foundation of Battle Abbey (1070–6). A spot within the Abbey

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[1] *avito*, B.C.L.S.; *antiquo*, with "*alias, avito*" in the margin, A.

[2] *pro ea*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[3] *denique*, B.L.S.; *deinde*, C.

[4] *quod*, C.L.S.; *quia*, A.B.

[5] *ubi victi*, C.L.S.; *ubi multi*, A.; *multi*, B.

[6] *æternus*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[7] *foret*, A.C.L.S.; *faceret*, B.

[8] *eadem*, B.

[9] *maxima*, C.L.S.; *maxime*, A.B.

forte modico imbre maduerit, verum sanguinem et quasi recentem exsudat: ac si aperte per ipsam rei evidentiam dicatur, quod adhuc vox tanti[1] sanguinis Christiani clamet[2] ad Deum de terra, quæ aperuit os suum et suscepit eundem sanguinem[3] de manibus fratrum, id est, Christianorum.

A.D. 1087. miraculously exudes blood after rain.

Cap. II.

De Willelmo Rufo, secundo[4] ex Normannis rege Anglorum,[5] et de expeditione Ierosolymitana.

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Veritas de terra orta est, MºLXXXºVIIº, Robertus primogenitus in ducatu Normanniæ, et Guillelmus, qui agnominatus est[6] Rufus,[7] in regno Angliæ, patri[8] defuncto successere; ordine quidem præpostero, sed per ultimam, ut dictum est, patris[9] voluntatem commutato. Unde factum est, ut quibusdam optimatum Roberto propensiorem, tanquam justo heredi et perperam exheredato, favorem præstantibus statumque regni turbantibus, Guillelmus in principio infirmius laboriosiusque imperaret,[10] et[11] ad conciliandos sibi animos subditorum modestior mitiorque appareret. At postquam, perdomitis hostibus et[12] fratre mollius agente, roboratum est regnum ejus, exaltatum est illico cor ejus, apparuitque,[13] succedentibus

A.D. 1087. Robert becomes Duke of Normandy, and William Rufus king of England.

William II. ruled mildly while his enemies remained unsubdued,

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[1] *vox tanti*, C.L.S.; *noxa tanti*, B.

[2] *Christiani clamet*, C.L.S.; *Christianorum clamat*, A.B.

[3] *sanguinem*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] *Rufo, secundo*, B.L.S.; *Ruffo* omitting *secundo*, C.

[5] *Anglorum*, B.L.S.; *annorum*, C.

[6] *agnominatus est*, L.S.; *cognominatus est*, C.; *agnominatus*, omitting *est*, A.B.

[7] *Rufus*, B.L.S.; *Ruffus*, C.

[8] *patri*, B.L.S.; *patre*, A.C.

[9] *ut dictum est patris*, L.S.; *patris ut dictum est*, B.C.

[10] *imperaret*, B.C.L.S.; *imperaret suis*, A.

[11] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[12] for *et* C. has *in*.

[13] *apparuitque*, C.L.S.; *apparuit*, A.B.

A.D. 1087. prosperis, qualis apud se[1] latuisset dum premeretur adversis. Homo vecors et inconstans[2] in omnibus viis suis; Deo indevotus et ecclesiæ gravis; nuptiarum spernens,[3] et passim lasciviens; opes regni vanissima effusione exhauriens,[4] et eisdem deficientibus subditorum fortunas in hoc ipsum corradens. Homo typo immanissimæ superbiæ turgidus, et usque ad nauseam, vel etiam derisionem doctrinæ evangelicæ, temporalis gloriæ fœdissima voluptate absorptus. Frater vero[5] ejus senior Robertus, cui nimirum ordine naturali regni successio competebat, minus quidem elati et ferocis animi fuit; sed in minori administratione, scilicet ducatus Normannici, claruit quod regno amplissimo administrando nunquam idoneus fuerit. Qui tamen armis tantus fuit, ut in illa magna et famosa expeditione[6] Ierosolymitana, inter fortissimos totius orbis proceres clarissimæ militiæ titulis[7] fulserit.[8] Porro Henricus frater junior laudabilem præferens[9] indolem, duris et infidis[10] fratribus militabat. De suo quippe nihil ei largientes, ea etiam quæ pater illi testamento reliquerat abstulerunt. Cumque fratri minimo[11] paulatim ad provectum tendenti inviderent; eorum ille insidias, in tuto se continens, prudenter eludebat.[12]

but afterwards oppressively.

Duke Robert's incapacity as a ruler.

His excellence as a warrior in the East.

Death of Lanfranc (May 24, 1089).

Circa hoc tempus Lanfranco Cantuariensi archiepiscopo viam universæ carnis ingresso, Anselmus abbas Beccensis successit, natione et ipse Longobardus, Lan-

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[1] *apud se*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[2] *inconstans*, C.L.S.; *constans*, B.

[3] *nuptiarum spernens*, B.L.S.; *nuptias spernens*, C.; *nuptiarum spernens copulas*, A.

[4] *exhauriens*, C.L.S.; *hauriens*, A.B.

[5] *vero*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[6] *expeditione*, C.L.S.; *exspectatione*, A.B.

[7] *titulis*, C.S.; *titulus*, L.; om. A.B.

[8] *fulserit*, C.L.S.; *fuerit*, A.; *fuserit*, B.

[9] *præferens*, B.C.S.; *proferens*, L.

[10] *infidis*, C.L.S.; *invidis*, A.; *vidis*, B.

[11] *minimo*, B.C.L.S.; *nimio*, R.

[12] *eludebat*, C.L.S.; *elidebat*, B.

franci olim discipulus, vir sanctus et excelsus in verbo gloriæ. Eboracensis quoque ecclesiæ præsulatum, Thoma defuncto, Gerardus suscepit.

A.D. 1093.

Succession of Anselm (Dec. 4, 1093).

Sane sub memorati regis principatu suscitavit Dominus spiritus Christianorum contra Sarracenos, occulto Dei judicio, longo jam tempore, tanquam jure hereditario, possidentes sanctuarium Dei, id est,[1] loca sacra, in quibus redemptio nostra celebrata est. Factus est ergo, per Urbani pontificis Romani et aliorum servorum Dei religiosam operam, magnus populi Christiani concursus. Fortissimi duces charactere Domini insigniti, et numerosissima stipati militia, expeditione laboriosissima orientis regna penetrantes, Nicæam Bithyniæ, Antiochiam Syriæ, urbes amplissimas, et ad ultimum[2] Sanctam Civitatem, pio et felici sudore ceperunt; e quibus fuit Robertus dux Normanniæ in primis clarus, qui nimirum, cum eidem expeditioni necessaria præpararet, et pecunia illi minus copiosa suppeteret, accepta a fratre Guillelmo summa non modica, Normanniam illi apposuit; sicque cum reliquis principibus Christianis laudabile iter arripiens, cunctis prospere gestis, post annos aliquot repatriavit.

The First Crusade (A.D. 1095).

Capture of Jerusalem (July 15, 1099).

Rex autem Guillelmus prolongans iniquitatem sibi, et in exitium[3] proprium contra stimulum calcitrans, venerabilem Anselmum cum modestia corripientem, et enormia, quæ ab eo vel sub eo gerebantur, corrigere volentem, non pertulit; sed spoliatum rebus fere omnibus, tanquam regno contrarium, ab Anglia expulit. Verum dum in oriente a nostris proceribus fortiter atque feliciter ageretur, idem rex, propellentibus eum ad interitum malis suis, condignum effrenatæ superbiæ finem incurrit. Quippe in venatione sagitta proprii militis homo ferocissimus pro fera confossus interiit;

Death of William II. (August 2, 1100).

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[1] *id est*, C.L.S.; *et*, A.B.
[2] *ultimum*, B.C.S.; *ultimam*, L.
[3] *exitium*, B.L.S.; *exitum*, C.

A.D. 1100. completumque est in eo illud: "Vidi impium super- Ps. xxxvi., 35, 36.
"exaltatum et elevatum[1] sicut cedros Libani, et
"transivi et ecce non erat, quæsivi eum[2] et non est
"inventus locus ejus."

Cap. III.

De Henrico, tertio ex Normannis rege Anglorum, et de quibusdam quæ sub ejus regno contigerunt.

A.D. 1100.

Henry I. succeeds to the crown (Aug 5).

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo misit Deus filium suum[3] in mundum MºCº, regi Guillelmo infeliciter mortuo frater[4] Henricus successit, filiorum quidem Guillelmi Magni ordine nativitatis novissimus, sed prærogativa primus. Quippe, aliis in ducatu patris natis, solus ipse ex eodem jam rege est ortus. Hac ratione inducti, et præterea laudabili ejus indole illecti, pontifices et proceres Angliæ fratrem Robertum in oriente adhuc constitutum, quem ex ducatu non bene administrato constabat regno administrando[5] fore minus idoneum, exspectandum minime censuerunt, eumque, quem aptum esse regimini signis non fallacibus colligebant, in regem sollemniter sublimarunt. Qui mox salubri usus consilio venerabilem Anselmum ab exsilio revocavit; pravas consuetudines, quæ sub fratre inoleverant, abrogavit; pacis et æquitatis jura, quoad regi novitio licebat, firmavit. Multa enim adhuc pro tempore prudenter dissimulabat, ne rigore subito subditi terrerentur: caute prævidens post reditum fratris tumultus sibi publicos minime defuturos, quod et contigit. Cum enim ille ex orientis partibus cum uxore, quam sibi in via desponderat, reversus, Nor-

Recall of Anselm from exile.

[1] *et elevatum*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[2] *eum*, B.C.S.; om. L.
[3] *suum*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[4] *frater*, B.C.L.S.; *frater suus*, R.
[5] C. has *administrato*.

manniam recepisset, instigantibus eum quibusdam Angliæ proceribus, quibus jam Henricus formidabilis esse cœperat, fratri bellum, nisi regnum sibi resignaret, indixit;[1] armatam classem in Angliam duxit, cui mox adjuncti sunt qui a fratre desciverant. Sed prudentia fraterna homo levis et inconstans delusus, infecto negotio Normanniam rediit, fratrique cum regno regnandi securitatem reliquit. Cumque per annos aliquot Normanniæ incubans eam sua[2] mollitie perderet, et improbi nullo publicæ[3] disciplinæ metu coerciti[4] libere grassarentur; invitatus a majoribus ejusdem provinciæ rex Henricus civili magis animo quam hostili affuit, et plurima ejus parte in deditionem recepta, tandem fratrem, fusis ejus copiis apud Tenerchebrai,[5] in bello cepit. Sic itaque vir magnus et magnorum in remotis mundi[6] partibus operum, fortunæ invidia proditus, in manus junioris fratris, quem olim irritaverat, incidit, et post tantam militiæ claritatem in fratris[7] quidem, sed tamen[8] minus fraterna custodia, inglorius reliquum vitæ suæ tempus exegit. Henricus autem regno Angliæ socians ducatum Normanniæ, sicut pater olim ducatui Normanniæ regnum sociaverat Angliæ, nomen celebre et grande adeptus est, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra. Porro venerabilis[9] Anselmus Cantuariensis ex Gallicano exsilio ad propriam sedem regressus, et post annos aliquot viam universæ carnis ingressus, sortitus est nomen grande juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in cœlo. Successit ei Radulfus abbas Sagiensis, vir religiosus et prudens. Gerardo vero Eboracensi defuncto Thomas secundus[10] successit,

A.D. 1101.

Duke Robert claims the crown and invades England (July 19, 1101).

Battle of Tinchebrai (Sept. 28, 1106), and capture of Duke Robert.

Death of Anselm (April 21, 1109).

II. Reg. vii. 9.

Ralph, Abbot of Seez, becomes Arch-

[1] *indixit* in C. follows *bellum.*
[2] *sua*, B.L.S.; *suæ*, C.
[3] *publicæ*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[4] *coerciti*, B.C.L.S.; *coarctati*, A.
[5] *Tenerchebrai*, B.L.S.; *Tenerchebrari*, C.
[6] *mundi*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[7] *in fratris*, in light ink in margin of C.
[8] *tamen*, A.C.L.S.; om. B.
[9] S. has *venerabis.*
[10] *secundus*, C.L.S.; *secundo*, A.B.

A.D. 1114. ætate quidem juvenis; sed gravitate et sinceritate morum prædecessori suo valde dissimilis. Idem enim Gerardus homo quidem acutus et literatus fuisse dignoscitur; sed vita lubricus, in emungendis per indecoras etiam occasiones subditorum marsupiis callidus, et, ut plurimi asseverant, maleficiis etiam[1] assuetus, Deo et hominibus invisus inventus est. Quod et ejus mors horrenda et post mortem corpori ejus negata pontificalium exsequiarum sollemnitas declararunt. Quippe apud Suthwellam[2] cum, pransus in horto juxta cubiculum, clericis prope spatiantibus, super[3] cervical sub divo quiesceret, letali sopore diriguit. Corpus ejus raro agmine Eboracam[4] delatum, neque clericis neque civibus cum pompa exsequiali ex more occurrentibus, sed pueris, ut dicitur, sandapilam[5] lapidantibus, extra ecclesiam sine honore sepulturæ est traditum. Ille autem qui ei successit, exemplo ejus territus, lavansque[6] manus suas in sanguine peccatoris, laudabiliter in officio suo[7] conversatus est. Progressiores vero annos non vidit, raptus, ut credo, ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus.[8] De quo nimirum rem memorabilem, viro veracissimo referente, cognovi, quam non silebo. Ægrotanti a medicis dictatum[9] est ut feminæ pro remedio misceretur, pronuntiantibus hoc solo morbum fore curabilem. Instabant amici ut fieret; protestantes Deum minime offensum iri,[10] dum hoc pure pro remedio non pro voluptatis illecebra fieret.[11] Visus est assentiri ne contristaret amicos. Femina decentis formæ in secretum ejus intromittitur. Postea vero

bishop of Canterbury (April 26, 1114).

Death of Gerard, archbishop of York (May 21, 1108).

His funeral and the indignities offered to the bier.

Thomas his successor (consecrated June 27, 1109).

Anecdote of Archbishop Thomas demonstrating his purity.

[1] *etiam*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *Suthwellam*, C.L.S.; *Southwellam*, A.B.

[3] *super*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[4] *Eboracam*, C.L.S.; *Eboracum*, A., and B. by erasure.

[5] L. has here the words "id est, "feretrum" interlined.

[6] *lavansque*, B.L.R.S.; *lavit*, C.

[7] *suo*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[8] *ejus*, B.L.S.; *illius*, C.

[9] *dictatum*, B.L.R.S.; *dictum*, C.

[10] *offensurum iri*, C.L.S. and, originally, B.

[11] Cf. Ric. Hagustald. (Twysden, col. 304.)

urinam inspicientibus medicis, assensio illa pro placandis amicis simulatoria fuisse declaratur. Objurgantibus ergo eum amicis, quod quasi semetipsum occideret, qui medicorum præcepto non pareret, "Silete," inquit, "nullus vestrum mihi ulterius verbi hujus virus insibilet; nam propter salutem carnis tandem morituræ immortale decus pudicitiæ non amittam."

A.D. 1114.

Archbishop Thomas dies (Feb. 1114). Succeeded by Thurstan (Oct. 19, 1119), and Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury (dies Oct. 20, 1122), by William de Corbenil (Feb. 18, 1123).

Huic ergo ex eadem ægritudine, ut creditur, feliciter mortuo, pro qua curanda Deum offendere noluit, Thurstinus[1] vir bonus et[2] prudens successit. Porro Radulfo Cantuariensi apposito ad patres suos, Guillelmus, qui regularium clericorum apud Chicchiam[3] prior exstiterat, cathedram ejus suscepit. Has fuisse novimus metropolitanorum successiones sub rege Henrico. Idem autem rex ex Matilda[4] religiosa regina geminam in sexu dispari suscepit[5] sobolem; et filiam[6] materni nominis jam nubilem Henrico imperatori Romano petenti despondit: filium vero aviti nominis, qui successor sperabatur, jam puberem sinister casus abstulit, cum turba nobilium juvenum marinis beluis escam datum. Et, quoniam Matildis regina jam obierat, procreandorum causa heredum rex filiam ducis Lotharingiæ[7] duxit uxorem, de qua tamen liberos non suscepit. Unde filiam, postquam imperator non relictis ex ea heredibus in fata concesserat,[8] ex Alemannia revocatam, illustri comiti Andegavensi Gaufrido despondit, ut vel nepotes ex ea successores haberet. Factoque concilio, eidem filiæ suæ et susceptis vel[9] suscipiendis ex ea nepotibus, ab episcopis, comitibus,

Maud marries the emperor Henry V.

Henry marries Adelais of Louvain (Feb. 2, 1121).

Maud marries Geoffrey of Anjou (May 22, 1127).

She is received as heiress to the throne.

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[1] *Thurstinus*, L.S.; *Thurstanus*, A.B.; *Turstanus*, C.

[2] *bonus et*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[3] *Chicchiam*, B.L.S.; *Chiehiam*, A.C.; *Chiechiam*, R. The Abbey of St. Osyth of Chiehe, Essex.

[4] *Matilda*, L.S., but see the other form below; *Matilde*, A.B.C.

[5] *suscepit*, L.S.; *susceperat*, B.C.R.

[6] *filiam*, C.L.S.; *filiam quidem*, A.B.

[7] *Lotharingiæ*, C.L.S.; *Lotaringiæ*, A.B.

[8] *concesserat*, C.L.S.; *decesserat*, A., and, by late alteration, B.

[9] *vel*, B.L.S.; *et*, C. The oaths were taken *before* her second marriage.

A.D. 1135-6.

Death of Henry I. (Dec. 1, 1135). His character.

baronibus, et omnibus qui alicujus videbantur esse momenti, regnum[1] Angliæ cum ducatu Normanniæ fecit jurari.[2] Regnavit autem in[3] multa felicitate et gloria annis xxxv. et mensibus aliquot[4]; quibus expletis, dormivit cum patribus suis. Homo multis quæ decerent principem bonis ornatus: quæ tamen[5] plurimum[6] denigrabat in[7] concupiscentia feminarum imitando petulantiam Salomonis. Feras quoque propter[8] venationis delicias plus justo diligens, in publicis animadversionibus[9] cervicidas ab homicidis parum discernebat. Corpus ejus, cerebro et intestinis ejectis, salitum

His burial (Jan. 4, 1136).

coriisque insutum, a Normannia in Angliam delatum et, apud Radingum in monasterio, cujus ipse devotus fundator largusque ditator[10] exstiterat, sepultum est. Porro[11] homo ille[12] qui, pretio magno conductus, cerebrum ejus extraxerat, intolerantia fœtoris, ut dicitur, infectus atque exstinctus est: sicque cum Elisei mortui corpus vivificaverit mortuum, illius jam mortui corpus mortificavit vivum.

Henr. Hunt. lib. viii. § 2.

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[1] *regnum Angliæ*, A.B.C.R.; *regnum*, L.S.

[2] *jurari*, B.L.S.; *jurare*, C.

[3] *in* B.L.R.S.; *cum*, C.

[4] Thirty-five years and nearly four months.

[5] *quæ tamen*, C.L.S.; *qui, cum*, originally, B.

[6] *plurimum*, B.L.R.S.; *multum*, C.

[7] *in*, C.L.S.; om. A., and B. by erasure.

[8] *propter*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[9] *animadversionibus*, C.L.S.; *adversionibus*, B.

[10] *ditator*, C.L.S.; *dotator*, A., and B. by late alteration

[11] The words which follow as far as the end of the chapter seem to be nothing more than a recast of the following passage from Henry of Huntingdon:—" Unde et ipse " *qui magno pretio conductus* se-" curi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœti-" dissimum cerebrum extraheret, " . . . . . mortuus tamen ea causa " pretio male gavisus est. Hic est " ultimus e multis quem rex Henri-" cus occidit."

[12] *homo ille* in margin of S. in perhaps a somewhat later hand *ille*, omitting *homo*, A.B.C.L.

Cap. IV.

Quomodo Stephanus contra jusjurandum invasit regnum Anglorum.[1]

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°XXX°V°, defuncto sed nondum[2] sepulto clarissimo rege Anglorum et duce Normannorum Henrico, Stephanus comes Bononiensis,[3] ejus ex sorore nepos, regnum Anglorum invasit. Siquidem Stephanus major comes Blesensis, majoris Willelmi filiam memorabilem[4] feminam uxorem duxerat, et ex ea quatuor susceperat filios. Quo nimirum in partibus orientis defuncto, mater mirabilis primogenito, quod remissioris esset[5] ingenii et tanquam degener videretur, prudenter amoto, Teobaldum[6] filium in quo sibi bene complacebat, ad plenitudinem hereditatis provexit. Stephanum[7] adhuc impuberem regi avunculo nutriendum promovendumque direxit; quartum vero, id est, Henricum, ne soli seculo genuisse liberos[8] videretur, apud Cluniacum[9] tonsoravit. Processu temporis[10] rex Henricus unicam comitis Bononiensis[11] filiam, ad quam tota spectabat hereditas, nepoti Stephano copulavit; in Anglia quoque plurima collargiens. Fratri autem ejus Henrico Cluniacensi

A.D. 1135.

Stephen's usurpation.

Stephen of Blois and his children by Adela, daughter of William I.

Death of Stephen of Blois in the Holy Land.

His son Stephen married to Matilda, daughter of Eustace of Boulogne.

Henry of Blois

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[1] A. and B. here put the rubric which belongs to cap. v.

[2] *sed nondum*, C.L.S.; *sedendum*, B.

[3] *Stephanus comes Bononiensis*, A.B.C.R.; *Stephanus Bononiensis*, L.S.

[4] *filiam memorabilem*, B.C.L.S.; *filiam, nomine Adalem, memorabilem*, A. The 15th cent. hand in B. introduces the same words.

[5] *esset*, L.S.; omitted by A.B.C.R.

[6] *Teobaldum*, L.S.; *Teodbaldum*, C.; *Theobaldum*, R. and, by alteration, B.

[7] *Stephanum*, B.C.L.S.; *tertium id est Stephanum*, A.

[8] *liberos*, B.L.R.S.; *filios*, C.

[9] *Dumatum* (sic), L.

[10] *processu temporis*, A.B.L.R.S.; *processu vero temporis*, C.

[11] *Bononiensis*, C.L.S.; *Londinensis* (sic), B.

A.D. 1135.

becomes (Nov. 17, 1129) Bishop of Winchester.

Stephen seizes the crown.

William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, crown Stephen (Dec. 26, 1135).

The Archbishop dies within the year (Nov. 21, 1136).

The Bishop of Salisbury ends his life miserably.

monacho dedit abbatiam Glastoniensem, ac postmodum episcopatum adjecit Wintoniensem. Cum ergo, ut prædictum est, rex Henricus obiisset, idem Stephanus sacramenti, quod filiæ ejus de conservanda fidelitate præstiterat, prævaricator regnum arripuit, annitentibus præsulibus atque principibus eodem sacramento astrictis. Denique Guillelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui primus juraverat, unxit eum in regem,[1] assistente et cooperante Rogerio Salesbiriensi episcopo, qui secundus juraverat, et juraturis singulis juramenti formam expresserat. Et archiepiscopus quidem, ejusdem, ut creditur, perjurii merito, ipso prævaricationis suæ anno defecit. Episcopus vero post annos aliquot, ipso rege divinæ[2] in illum ultionis ministro, miserabili exitu vitam finivit, ut plenius suo loco dicetur.[3] Forte tamen arbitrati sunt obsequium se præstare Deo, dum suo perjurio tanquam dispensatorio ecclesiæ regnique profectibus melius providerent: eo quod in[4] defuncti principis moribus et actibus plura sibi merito displicuissent, quæ princeps mero ab eis creatus[5] beneficio, eorum, ut credebant, libenter emendaret consilio. Stephanus ergo ut contra jus humanum pariter et divinum, humanum scilicet, quia legitimus heres non erat, et divinum, id est violata jurisjurandi[6]

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[1] The date usually assigned for the coronation is that given in the margin, but the precise statements in two short contemporary chronicles printed by Dr. F. Liebermann (Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen, pp. 5 and 79), may be quoted. The first ("*Annal.* "*Anglosax. breves*") has the date 23 Dec. 1135, the second agrees with William of Malmesbury in supplying the date 22 December.

[2] The 15th century hand which makes so many alterations in the early part of B. has altered this word to *divinitus*, a reading in which A. agrees.

[3] See W. Malmesb., Hist. Nov. (E. H. Soc. Ed. 692–3). The bishop professed to consider himself absolved from his oath to Henry.

[4] *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[5] *creatus*, C.L.S.; *creatis*, B.

[6] *jusjurandi* (sic), L.

religione, sublimaretur in regem, pactus est quæcunque præsules et proceres exigere voluerunt, quæ postea per ejus perfidiam in[1] irritum cuncta cesserunt.[2] Dei enim judicio bona minime venire debuerunt, propter quæ sapientes potentesque illi malum tam enorme faciendum decreverunt.

A.D. 1136.

Stephen fails to fulfil his promises.

Cap. V.

Quod Stephanus fausta habuerit regni principia.

A.D. 1136–7.

Prosperity of the first two years of Stephen's reign.

Duos quidem priores regni sui annos rex Stephanus faustos habere visus est; rege Scottorum David, qui Northumbriam[3] trans fluvium Tinum[4] irruperat, magnis viribus repulso[5] et domito; Baldewino de Redveriis, qui contra eum rebellare cœperat, expugnato atque in exsilium acto; rebus quoque in Normannia fortiter et feliciter gestis. Anno vero tertio et quarto cœperunt contra perjurum et pactorum etiam, quæ in promotione sua fecerat, prævaricatorem mala increscere; plurimi et fortissimi rebellare; ipse, jam exhaustis avunculi thesauris, minus posse et mollius agere. Initia malorum hæc. Cum ergo in australibus Angliæ partibus contra eos qui a se defecerant, et hostiliter agebant, casso labore sudaret, Scottorum redivivus furor erumpens Northumbriam crudelissima depopulatione[6] exinanitam obtinuit; et amne Tino[7] transmisso,

In the third year evils began to spring up.

While quelling rebels in

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[1] *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] Malmesbury, (E. H. S. ed. p. 707) gives the charter.

[3] *Northumbriam*, C.S.; *Norhthumbriam*, B.; *Norhtumbriam*, L.

[4] *Tinum*, B.S.; *Tynum*, C.; *Ti* (the rest erased), L.

[5] This is here referred to as a warlike repulse, but Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury represent the settlement as peaceably obtained by negotiation.

[6] *depopulatione*, B.L.R.S.; *spoliatione*, C.

[7] *Tino*, B.L.S.; *Tyno*, C.

A.D. 1138. — the south the Scots ravage the north.

neque sexui neque ætati parcens, usque ad fluvium[1] Tesam pervenit; non quidem ibi debacchandi sibi limitem statuens, sed totam Deirorum provinciam cum Eboraca civitate spe jam indubia possidens. Provinciales vero, cum nullum, vel a rege vel a Transhumbranis provinciis, sperarent[2] auxilium, bonæ memoriæ Thurstini[3] archiepiscopi monitis animati,[4] pro animabus suis, pro conjugibus et liberis pugnandum duxerunt, atque unanimiter conglobati contra multitudinem immanitate terribilem, non longe a flumine Tesa in campo steterunt: numero quidem longe impares; sed piæ justæque causæ fiducia multum præstantes. Denique Scotti mane castris incensis flumen transeunt,[5] et objectam paucitatem derisui habentes, audacter in pugnam ruunt. At non diu prœlium tractum est, ubi nihil aut parum gladiis actum. Levis enim armaturæ homines, confodientibus eos eminus jaculis, mox terga dederunt, nostrisque cum victoria campum reliquerunt. Cæsa referuntur in illa vel pugna vel fuga Scottorum[6] multa millia, et rex[7] David, raro quidem milite sed multo dedecore comitatus, refugit in propria. Hoc[8] bellum, Deo propitio, adversus Scottos feliciter gestum est anno regis Stephani quarto,[9] mense Augusto. Et post menses aliquot

Their depredations carried as far as York.

Archbishop Thurstan summons the men of the province to battle.

The Battle of the Standard (22) Aug.

Council of London (Dec. 13).

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[1] *fluvium*, C.L.S.; *flumen*, A.B.

[2] *sperarent*, B.L.S.; *sperassent*, C.

[3] *Thurstini*, B.L.S.; *Turstani*, C.

[4] *animati*, B.L.S.; *anima* (by erasure), C.

[5] *transeunt*, B.L.R.S.; *transierunt*, C.

[6] *illa vel pugna vel fuga Scottorum*, B.L.R.S.; *illa pugna Scottorum*, C.

[7] *rex David raro quidem*, B.L.S.; *rex quidem David raro*, C.

[8] The passage which follows as far as the end of the chapter bears a very strong resemblance to the following extract from Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. viii. § 9, end: Rolls' ed. p. 265). "Hoc bellum Augusti "mense factum est. At in Adventu "Domini concilium apud Lundo-"niam Albricus ecclesiæ Romanæ "legatus et Hostiensis episcopus "tenuit. Ibidem, adnitente rege "Stephano, Theobaldus Abbas "Beccensis Cantuariensis Archie-"piscopus effectus est."

[9] Newburgh has here deserted

Albericus[1] Ostiensis[2] episcopus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, concilium Lundoniis celebravit, ubi Teobaldus[3] abbas Beccensis, rege connivente, cathedram ecclesiæ Cantuariensis suscepit.

A.D. 1138. Theobald, abbot of Bec, becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cap. VI.

De Rogerio Salesbiriensi et Alexandro Lincolniensi episcopis, et[4] *quomodo capti sunt a rege Stephano.*

Post hæc rex Oxenefordiæ[5] constitutus, pessimis consiliis ita est depravatus, ut ecclesiasticorum virorum inhiando pecuniis, impias eis manus injiceret, et sacris non deferendo ordinibus, personæ regiæ inexpiabilem[6] nævum inureret.[7] Quippe Rogerium Salesbiriensem et Alexandrum Lincolniensem, nobilissimos et potentissimos tunc in[8] episcopis Anglorum, cum eos paulo ante ad se venientes hilari facie suscepisset, repente, tanquam personas vilissimas atrocium injuriarum reas, captos inclusit, arctavit, pecuniis et castellis nudavit.[9] Sane de hujus Rogerii primordiis atque progressibus, quoniam se præbet occasio, pauca di-

A.D. 1139. Stephen at Oxford (June 24).

His treacherous seizure of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln.

Extorts from them their money and castles.

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his guide, Henry of Huntingdon, who places the Battle of the Standard in Stephen's third year.

[1] *Albericus*, B.C.L.S.; *Albertus*, R.

[2] *Ostiensis*, C.; *Hostiensis*, A.B.L.S.

[3] *Teobaldus*, S.; *Theobaldus*, B.C.L.

[4] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[5] *Oxenefordiæ*, L.S.; *Oxenenefordiæ*, C.; *Oxeneforthiæ*, A.B.

[6] *inexpiabilem*, B.L.S.; *inexpugnabilem*, C.

[7] *inureret*, B.S.; *innueret*, L.; *incurreret*, C.

[8] *potentissimos tunc in*, B.L.S. *potentissimos viros tunc in*, C., *potentissimos esse in*, R.

[9] Cf. Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls' ed. p. 265), W. of Malmsb. (E. H. S. ed. p. 716).

A.D. 1139.

Antecedents of Roger bishop of Salisbury.

cenda sunt; ut in fine ejus miserrimo altitudo divini consideretur judicii. Idem sub regno Guillelmi junioris sacerdos admodum tenuis in quodam, ut dicitur, suburbano Cadomensi de officio vivebat. Eodem tempore Henricus junior fratri regi militans, casu ex itinere cum comitibus divertit ad ecclesiam in qua ille ministrabat, petiitque sibi celebrari sacra. Sacerdos vero[1] petitione suscepta, ad incipiendum promptus et ad finiendum succinctus, in utroque militibus sic placuit, ut dicerent tam aptum militibus reperiri non posse capellanum. Cumque regius ille juvenis diceret, "sequere me," non secus illi adhæsit quam Petrus olim Regi cœlesti idem dicenti. Petrus enim relicta navicula Regem regum; ille vero relicta ecclesia secutus est juvenem regium: factusque[2] illi et ejus militibus capellanus ad libitum, cæcus præstabat cæcis ducatum. Et cum esset fere illiteratus, innata tamen astutia ita callebat, ut domino suo in brevi carus exsisteret, et secretiora ejus negotia procuraret. Postquam autem idem dominus ejus regnum sortitus[3] est, eum, tanquam ante regnum et in regno bene de se meritum, ad Salesbiriensem provexit episcopatum: quin etiam illi, tanquam in multis[4] probato, fideli, et industrio, publicas administrationes commisit; ut esset non tantum in[5] ecclesia magnus, sed etiam in regno a rege secundus. Denique amplas exercendæ avaritiæ occasiones nactus, ex utroque officio, scilicet ecclesiastico et seculari, ingentes coacervavit divitias, non dispergendas dandasque pauperibus, sed vanissimis usibus applicandas. Duo enim nobilia sumptuosissimo opere castella, scilicet Divisas et Scireburnam, construxit; vanissime satagens ne[6] reciperent comparationem in regno. Alexandro quoque nepoti suo, rege sibi nihil

Roger becomes Bishop of Salisbury (Aug. 11, 1107).

Builds castles at Sherborne and Devizes.

[1] *vero*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.
[2] *factusque*, B.L.S.; *factus*, C.
[3] *sortitus*, C.L.S.; *secutus*, B.
[4] *multis*, C.L.S.; *militis*, B.
[5] *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[6] *ne*, C.L.S.; *ut*, B.; *ut non*, A.

negante, Lincolniensis ecclesiæ sedem obtinuit; qui, cum esset cordis latissimi,[1] avunculum æmulans duo[2] et ipse non ignobilia expensis profusissimis castella exstruxit. Et, quoniam hujusmodi exstructio episcopalem honestatem minus decere videbatur, ad tollendam illius exstructionis invidiam et quasi expiandam maculam, totidem monasteria construens, collegiis religiosis implevit. Cum autem inclitus rex Henricus a singulis regni præsulibus atque proceribus de conservanda filiæ suæ in successione regni fidelitate sacramentum[3] exigeret; memoratus Salesbiriensis idem sacramentum, uti[4] superius dictum est, non solum in propria persona hilariter præstitit, verum etiam[5] aliis præstituris, tanquam vir prudens et a rege secundus, ad nutum regium caute distinxit. Sed rege defuncto, qui ei tantæ in hoc seculo claritatis auctor exstiterat, circa legitimos ejus heredes infidus, ut Stephanum, sacramento illo æque astrictum, sibi alliceret, non solum non est veritus incurrere perjurium, verum etiam aliis insigne pejerandi præstruxit exemplum. Eidem quoque sublimato[6] in regem se talem exhibuit, ut obsequiorum gratia præclaram apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tantis ille beneficiis ingratus, et in ipsum episcopum, cujus opera nunquam episcopalia fuere, ultor divinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam exigui hominem momenti, primo carcerali custodia, postmodum etiam[7] cibi inopia, et[8] nepotis ejus, qui cancellarius fuerat regius, intentato supplicio, ita coarctavit, ut duo illa præclara castella, in quibus thesauri ejus erant repositi, resignaret. Quo

A.D. 1139.

Obtains the bishopric of Lincoln for his nephew Alexander.

Bishop Roger was one of those who swore to receive the empress Maud as queen.

On Henry's death in order to gain Stephen's favour he violated his oath.

Stephen's ingratitude avenges the bishop's perjury.

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[1] *latissimi*, B.L.S.; *latissimi vel* interlined above *clarissimi* in a contemporary hand, C.

[2] *duo et ipse non*, C.L.S.; *dudum*, B.

[3] *sacramentum*, B.L.S.; *sacramenta*, C.

[4] *uti*, C.L.S.; *ut*, A. and B., by late alteration.

[5] C. has *et* for *etiam*.

[6] *sublimato*, B.L.S.; *limato*, C.

[7] *etiam*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[8] C. has *etiam* for *et*.

A.D. 1139. facto claruit, ex vi doloris, quantum ejus cor infecerit mundani virus amoris. Nam juxta veracissimam beati Gregorii sententiam, quantum cum habentur temporalia hæret amor, tantum cum subtrahuntur urit dolor. Denique grandævus episcopus ex eorum amissione, in quorum exstructione vel congestione Deum vehementer offenderat, vi doloris absorptus, atque in amentiam versus, ita ut indecentia[1] vel faceret vel diceret, perspicuo Dei judicio vitam longo tempore splendidissimam infelicissimo fine conclusit.[2] Alexander vero Lincolniensis, qui cum eo captus fuerat, eisdem quibus ille modis ad resignandas munitiones quas exstruxerat angariatus est; quibus resignatis, ægre relaxatus est; divinum circa se judicium, si sapuit, venerans et saniora meditans. Sed nec ipsi regi, quem virgam furoris Domini fuisse constat erga memoratos episcopos, in prosperum cedebat, quod instigante vel odio personarum, vel ambitu pecuniarum, sacris minime ordinibus deferebat: idque sequentia declarabunt.

Bishop Roger dies insane (Dec. 4, 1139).

The bishop of Lincoln resigns his castles and regains his liberty.

Cap. VII.

Quomodo Stephanus regiam auctoritatem amiserit cum Normannia.

A.D. 1139. Paucis siquidem diebus elapsis, Matildis olim imperatrix, filia regis Henrici, in Angliam venit, et contemplatione juramenti olim sibi de regno præstiti multorum[3] procerum corda commovit, cum se jam plurimi proprio instinctu contra regem Stephanum erigere minime[4] formidarent. Itaque divisum est reg-

The empress Maud comes to England.

[1] *indecentia*, B.L.S.; *in dementia*, C.

[2] *conclusit*, B.L.R.S.; *complevit*, C.

[3] *multorum*, B.L.S.; *multorumque*, C.

[4] *minime*, A.C.L.S.; om. B.

num, quibusdam Stephano, quibusdam vero dictæ imperatrici favorem opemque præstantibus; et completum est illud Dominicum; "Omne regnum in se "divisum desolabitur." Ita enim per discursus excursusque hinc inde hostiles, rapinis et incendiis paulatim dilaniata atque attenuata est Anglia, ut ex regno florentissimo infelicissimum videretur. Jam omnis regii nominis terror, jam omnis disciplinæ publicæ vigor in ventum abierat; et sublato legum metu, libido et licentia passibus æquis currebant. Malis ergo quotidie crebrescentibus, jam versa erat in luctum ecclesiæ cithara, et populus sub multiplici gemebat jactura.

Matth. xii. 25.

A.D. 1139.

The division and desolation of the kingdom.

Rebus in Anglia se ita habentibus, Andegavensis comes Normanniam cum exercitu pervagatur; totamque in brevi uxoris et filii nomine in suam potestatem traducit;[1] nemine se opponente qui ejus valeret impetum sustinere. Cum rege quippe Francorum, qui regi Stephano fœderatus videbatur, prudenter colluserat, ne quid ab eo impedimenti pateretur, quominus prosperaretur, in iis quæ intendebat.

Geoffrey of Anjou reduces Normandy (1135–45).

Cap. VIII.

Quomodo rex Stephanus captus est in bello apud Lincolniam.

Sexto regni sui anno rex Stephanus castrum Lincolniense obsedit; quod Rannulfus[2] comes Cestrensis dolo intraverat, et tenebat: protractaque est obsidio a diebus Natalis Dominici usque ad Hypapanti[3] Domini. Idem autem comes ut obsidionem solveret,

A.D. 1140.

Stephen besieges Lincoln castle.

[1] *traducit*, B.C.L.S.; *traducto*, A.; *redegit*, R.

[2] *Rannulfus*, S; *Ranulfus*, B.C.L.

[3] *Ipapanti*, A.B.C.L.; *Ypapanti*, S.; the feast of the Purification (2 Feb.).

A.D. 1141.

The siege lasts from Christmas till Robert earl of Gloucester marches to the relief.

Gloucestrensem comitem,[1] regis Henrici filium nothum, suum vero socerum, aliosque fortissimos proceres cum ingentibus copiis secum adducens, regi, ni cederet, bellum denuntiavit. Rex vero, eorum adventu præcognito, vires undecunque contraxerat: et turmis extra urbem dispositis, ut exciperet venientes, prœlium cum multa fiducia instruebat. Nam et ipse bellator erat robustissimus, et militum numero ampliore subnixus. Huc accedebat quod hostilis exercitus longo et hiemali itinere fatigatus, otio, quo recrearetur, quam prœlio, quo periclitaretur, magis idoneus videbatur. Qui tamen numero quidem et[2] apparatu impar, sed solis animis præstans, eo quod sibi tam longe progresso a propriis nullum in hostium finibus videretur[3] esse locum effugii, constanter in bellum prorupit.

The battle of Lincoln (Feb. 2, 1141).

Rex ipse cum sua turma amotis equis in pedes consistens, equitum turmas, ad dandos vel excipiendos primos belli ictus, in fronte disposuerat; quibus primo hostilis equitatus impressu victis atque in fugam actis, totum pondus prœlii in regiam turmam versum est. Ibi quidem acerrime pugnatum est, rege ipso in primis fortiter agente; quo tandem capto et turma ejus profligata, victor exercitus urbem diripiendam ovans ingreditur, et captivus insignis dictæ imperatrici transmissus, apud Bristou[4] custodiæ mancipatur.

Capture of Stephen and his imprisonment at Bristol.

[1] *Gloucestrensem comitem*, B.L.S.; *Glaucestrensem comitem*, R.; *Gloucestriensem comitem Robertum*, C.

[2] *et*, B.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

[3] *videretur*, L.; *videretur* altered to *videret*, but restored, S.; *videret*, B.C.

[4] *Briston*, B.L.S.; *Bristhou*, C.

CAP. IX.

Quomodo rex Stephanus liberatus est per captionem comitis Gloucestrensis.[1]

Igitur regii casus infelicitate comperta, imperatrix ad summum evehitur, et fere totius regni favoribus honoratur. Verum stulta apparuit, postquam elevata est in sublime. Ita enim ex recenti felicitate successuum corde intumuit et verbis intonuit, ut intolerabili fastu[2] femineo optimatum contra se pendulos adhuc animos inflammaret. Cives quoque Lundonienses, qui eam favorabiliter prius susceperant, expulerunt eam, superbiam ejus non ferentes. Unde indignata regem, qui judicio Dei in manus[3] ejus inciderat, et adhuc indulgentius custodiebatur, compedibus oneravit, eo ipso divini judicii severitatem circa eum molliens, et, ut postea claruit, liberationem ejus accelerans. Evolutis enim diebus paucis, cum avunculo suo rege Scottorum et fratre suo Roberto, turrim Wintoniensis episcopi obsidens, fortunæ inconstantiam et, effrenatæ superbiæ merito, prioris jacturam gloriæ experta est. Denique idem episcopus regis germanus, homo multæ in regno potentiæ, callidus et pecuniosus supra modum, Apostolicæ quoque sedis legatus in Anglia, ad solvendam obsidionem, ex Cantia, quam solam casus non flexerat regius, Guilelmum Iprensem cum regina, et ex aliis provinciis plurimos dominationis femineæ[4] fastu irritatos accersivit. Cumque jam immensas contraxisset copias, per dies aliquot uterque exercitus excubabat in castris, et præter eos qui ex castris egressi pro ostentatione virium[5] exercebantur, vacare videbatur. Sed

A.D. 1141.

The cause of Maud is damaged by her arrogance.

The men of London receive her with favour, but afterwards drive her from the city (Midsummer, 1141).

Stephen placed in fetters.

Maud lays siege to Winchester.

The Queen and William of Ypres approach, but encamp without fighting.

[1] *Gloucestrensis*, C.L.; *Glaucestrensis*, S.; *Claucestriæ* (sic), A.B.

[2] *fastu*, B.L.S.; *faustu*, C.

[3] *manus*, B.L.S.; *manu*, C.

[4] *femineæ*, B.C.; *feminæ*, L.S.

[5] *urium* (sic), S.; the same error was originally made in L. but was corrected.

A.D. 1141 — The Londoners arriving, force the Empress to flee. Capture of the Earl of Gloucester (Sept. 14). Stephen and the Earl exchanged (Nov. 1).

advenientes magnæ ex Lundoniis copiæ, ita eorum qui dictæ imperatrici adversabantur auxerunt exercitum, ut ipsa jam impar ad pugnam, civitate Wintonia[1] relicta et direptioni exposita, evadere curaret per fugam. Captus est in fuga illa Robertus frater ejus, comes Gloucestrensis,[2] cum aliis plurimis. Porro David rex Scottorum, ne incideret in manus hostium, persequentes arte elusit;[3] et quibusdam eum caute deducentibus cum multo metu atque periculo ad propria rediit. Sane insignium captivorum, scilicet regis et comitis, commutatio facta est, et, perseverantibus inimicitiis, uterque pro altero sibi et suis est redditus.

Cap. X.

Quomodo imperatrix fugit de Oxenfordia, et de concilio Lundoniensi.

A.D. 1142. — Stephen's defeat at Wilton. Capture of William Martel. He surrenders Sherborne to the Empress.

Cum ergo rex et imperatrix jugi discordia disceptarent, quandoque partes æquabantur, quandoque vero præstabat altera, fortunæ volubilitatem in brevi expertura, quod ex suppositis clarebit. Sequenti[4] enim[5] anno rex Stephanus apud Wiltonam munitionem construens, repentina hostium irruptione contritus, et plurimis suorum amissis, in fugam actus est. Captus est ibidem dapifer regis Wilelmus, cognomento Martellus; qui mox pro sui corporis liberatione nobile castellum Schireburnense[6] resignavit. Eodem anno fortuna retrograda rex imperatricem in Oxenfordia[7] per menses aliquot obsidione conclusit.

[1] *Wintonia*, L.S.; *Wyntonia*, B.; *Wintoniæ*, C.

[2] *Gloucestrensis*, B.S.; *Gloecestrensis*, L.; *Gloucestriensis*, C.

[3] *elusit*, A.B.L.R.S.; *illusit*, C.

[4] *Sequenti anno*, this marks the year after the date (*sexto . . anno*) at the beginning of cap. viii., and is therefore *septimo anno*. The dates and all but the mere words at this point are from Henry of Huntingdon (viii. § 20).

[5] *enim*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.; *autem*, R.

[6] *Schireburnense*, B.L.S.; *Schirisburnense*, C.

[7] *Oxenfordia*, L.S.; *Oxenforthia*, B.; *Oxenefordia*, C.

Illa vero diutinæ obsidionis impatiens occasionem fugæ ex temporis qualitate nacta, noctis et nivis beneficio in veste alba Tamensim fluvium crassa glacie superstratum transiit: et hoc modo evadens in tutiora loca se recepit. Rex autem oppidum memoratum obtinuit. Hoc successu priorum eventuum dedecus quantulumcunque detergens,[1] post tanta divinæ vel districtionis vel miserationis experimenta, viris ecclesiasticis de cetero mitior visus est: et concilio, quod sequenti[2] anno Lundoniis ab Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato, pro quiete et prærogativa ordinis clericalis, celebratum est, benigne interfuit, et favoris regii suffragium non negavit. Nam, quia tunc in Anglia malis increscentibus parum sacris deferebatur ordinibus, eratque fere in omnibus sicut populus sic sacerdos, in eodem concilio statutum est, ut quicunque in clericum vel in monachum violentas manus injiceret, excommunicatus sollemniter denuntiaretur, et ad Romanum pontificem absolvendus mitteretur.

A.D. 1142.

The Empress besieged in Oxford (Sept.). Her escape, and the surrender of Oxford (Dec. 20).

A.D. 1143.

Council of London.

Ipso anno[3] nondum finito Cantuariensis archiepiscopus super Wintoniensem episcopum ordinariam potestatem habens, et Wintoniensis[4] super Cantuariensem Romanæ legationis potestatem exercens, dum hæ duæ potestates se mutuo sibi[5] colliderent, ecclesiarum pace concussa, Romanum pontificem adierunt, et quæstionem tanto gratiorem[6] quanto ponderosiorem Romanis auribus intulerunt. Et alter

Dispute between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, the papal legate.

[1] *detergens*, C.L.S.; *detergeres*, B.

[2] The date assigned by Sir H. Nicolas is Midlent 1142; "sequenti "anno" here would mean 1143. Henry of Huntingdon says, "Octavo anno rex Stephanus interfuit "concilio Lundoniæ in media "Quadragesima." John of Hexham (Twysden, 272) confirms this date. Newburgh here, as elsewhere, follows Huntingdon's chronology.

[3] "ante Natale" in the eighth year of Stephen, Henry of Huntingdon says, adding, "mortuo jam "Innocentio papa." Innocent II. died 24th September 1143.

[4] *Wintoniensi*, C.

[5] *sibi*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *gratiorem*, B.L.R.S.; *graviorem*, C.

A.D. 1143. quidem in causa præstantior, neuter vero inexhausto sacculo, reversus est.

Cap. XI.

De vita scelerata et condigno[1] *interitu Gaufridi de Magna Villa.*

A.D. 1143.

Stephen treacherously seizes Geoffrey de Mandeville at St. Albans.

Geoffrey's power and crimes.

Eodem tempore rex Stephanus cepit Gaufridum[2] de Magna Villa in curia sua apud Sanctum Albanum: non quidem honeste et[3] secundum jus gentium, sed pro merito ejus, et metu; scilicet, quod expediret quam quod deceret plus attendens. Erat enim idem[4] Gaufridus homo audacissimus, et magnarum virium, simul et artium; præclaram illam arcem Lundoniensem cum duabus aliis munitionibus non ignobilibus possidens, et subtili astutia ingentia moliens. Cum ergo propter hæc ipsi[5] esset regi[6] terribilis, acceptam ab eo injuriam rex caute dissimulabat, et tempus opportunum, quo se ulcisceretur, observabat. Injuria vero quam regi nequam ille intulerat talis erat.

Eustace married to Constance sister of Louis VII. of France (A.D. 1140).

Rex ante[7] annos aliquot episcopi, ut dictum est, Salesbiriensis thesauros adeptus, summa non modica regi Francorum Lodovico[8] transmissa, sororem[9] ejus Constantiam Eustachio filio suo desponderat; intendens affinitate tanti principis contra comitem Andegavensem ejusque filios successurum sibi filium roborare; eratque hæc cum socru sua regina Lundoniis. Cumque regina ad alium forte vellet cum eadem nuru sua locum migrare, memoratus Gaufridus arci tunc

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[1] *condigno*, C.L.S.; *indigno*, B.

[2] *Gaufridum*, B.L.S.; *Galfridum*, C.

[3] *et*, B.L.S.; *sed*, C.

[4] *idem*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[5] *ipsi*, B.L.S.; *ipse*, C.

[6] *regi*, B.C.S.; *regni*, L.

[7] *ante*, C.L.S. and by marginal correction, B.; *autem ante*, A.

[8] *Lodovico*, B.S.; *Lodowico*, L.; *Lodewico*, C.

[9] *sororem*, B.L.S.; *sororemque*, C.

præsidens restitit; nuruque de manibus socrus pro A.D. 1143.
viribus obnitentis abstracta atque retenta, illam cum
ignominia abire permisit. Postea vero reposcenti, et
justum motum,[1] pro tempore dissimulanti, regi socero
insignem prædam ægre resignavit. Et videbatur hæc
injuria oblivioni jam tradita; cum ecce, congregatis
per edictum regium apud Sanctum Albanum proceribus, prædo ille inter ceteros affuit, quem rex, illico temporis opportunitatem nactus, justissimæ indignationis loris astrinxit; eique arcem Lundoniensem cum duobus reliquis quæ possidebat castellis extorsit. Munitionibus ergo nudatus, sed tamen relaxatus, homo ille quietis nescius, animo ingens, astu vix comparabiliter præditus, et supra modum sapiens ut faceret malum, collecta improborum manu, monasterium Rameseyense[2] invasit; nec veritus, expulsis monachis, locum tam celebrem et sanctum facere speluncam latronum, et sanctuarium Dei convertere in domicilium diaboli, crebris eruptionibus atque excursionibus vicinas infestavit provincias. Deinde sumpta ex successu fiducia, longius progrediens, regem Stephanum acerrimis fatigavit terruitque incursibus. Eo sic debacchante videbatur dormire Divinitas,[3] et non curare res humanas, vel etiam suas, id est, ecclesiasticas: dicebaturque a laborantibus piis, "Exsurge, quare obdormis Domine?" At postquam, ut ait Apostolus, sustinuit Deus in multa patientia vasa iræ apta in interitum, "excitatus est," ut ait propheta, "tanquam dormiens Dominus, et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora," id est, in fine, quorum anteriora felicia videbantur. Denique paulo ante impii illius interitum, sicut veraci

The princess seized by Geoffrey and kept in the Tower of London. Being surrendered the affair seems to be forgotten, but Geoffrey is afterwards seized at St. Alban's. He surrenders the Tower of London and other castles and turns freebooter. Seizes Ramsey Abbey.

Ps. xliii. 23.

Rom. ix. 22.

Ps. lxxvii. 66.

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[1] *motum*, B.C.L.R.S.; Hearne prints *metum*.

[2] *Rameseyense*, L.S.; *Ramesayense*, B.; *Ramaseyense*, C.

[3] Either borrowed (with the important omission of *improbi*) from Henry of Huntingdon's words "Quia "igitur improbi dixerunt Deum "dormire" (viii. § 22), or perhaps, though less probably, an allusion to the famous passage in the Anglo-Saxon (Peterborough) Chronicle.

A.D. 1143.

Portents seen in Ramsey Abbey during the occupation of the robbers. Geoffrey is struck by an arrow, and dies (August 1144).

multorum relatione compertum est, parietes[1] ecclesiæ quam invaserat, et claustri adjacentis, verum sanguinem sudarunt; quo, ut postea claruit, significabatur et immanitas facinoris, et jam imminens judicium ejusdem immanitatis. Verum, cum improbi in reprobum[2] sensum dati signo tam horribili minime terrerentur, nequam ille castellum hostile oppugnans, inter consertas suorum catervas, vilissimi peditis sagitta in capite percussus est. Quo vulnusculo vir ferocissimus, quamvis illud primo derideret, post aliquot dies absumptus,[3] ecclesiastici anathematis vinculum, nunquam eo absolvendus, secum portavit ad inferos.

His lieutenants perish. One is killed by a fall from his horse; the other is miraculously drowned.

Duo etiam satellites ejus crudelissimi, quorum unus equitibus, alter peditibus præerat, diversis casibus interiisse feruntur. Ille enim[4] equo decidens, eliso ad terram capite excussoque cerebro, exspiravit: alter vero Raineius nomine, præcipuus ecclesiarum effractor atque incensor, cum uxore sua transfretans, iniquitatum suarum pondere, in medio mari, navim qua vehebatur fecit immobilem. Quod cum maximo nautis et aliis qui simul vehebantur esset stupori, antiquo exemplo jacta est sors, et cecidit sors super Rainerum. Et, ne forte hoc casu accidisse videretur, iterum et tertio sorte jacta et fideli inventa, judicium Dei declaratum est. Itaque ne universi cum ipso et propter ipsum perirent, expositus est in scapha cum uxore[5] et pecunia male acquisita. Navis illico expedita est et cursu solito ferebatur. Scapha vero pondere peccatoris subsedit, fluctibusque absorpta est.[6]

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[1] *parietes*, C.L.S.; *pariens* corrected in plummet to *parietes*, B.

[2] *reprobum*, B.L.R.S.; *improbum*, C.

[3] C. has *assumptus*.

[4] *enim*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[5] *uxore*, C.L.S.; *uxore sua*, A.B.

[6] This chapter gives many more particulars than are to be found in Henry of Huntingdon, though in many passages traces of his wording appear.

Cap. XII.

De Roberto Marmiun[1] *et ejus interitu.*[2]

Sane memorato invasori duo in Anglia consimiles fuisse noscuntur, Robertus scilicet, cognomento Marmiun,[3] qui expulsis monachis ecclesiam Coventrensem, et Wilelmus Albemarlensis,[4] qui exclusis regularibus clericis ecclesiam invasit et polluit Brelintoniensem.[5] Quorum alter, scilicet Robertus, divini pondere judicii contritus est: alter vero, id est, Wilelmus, clementiæ divinæ respectu compunctus, largis crebrisque eleemosynis in pauperes expensis, et non ignobilium constructione monasteriorum expiavit excessum. Denique Robertus Marmiun homo bellicosus, ferocia, astutia, audacia, fere nulli suo tempore impar, cum, jam multis late debacchando successibus clarus, præclaram illam ecclesiam, exclusis servis Dei et intromissis satellitibus diaboli, profanasset; Cestrensem quoque comitem, cui specialiter adversabatur, crebris et magnis excursionibus fatigaret; eidem comiti cum ingentibus copiis adventanti insultaturus egressus est. Cumque in conspectu suorum pariter et hostium equo spumeo cum fastu nimio veheretur, suæ artis immemor, nam crebras, ut dicitur, in campo fossas fecerat, quibus hostes vel arcerentur vel impedirentur, judicio inquam Dei, suæ artis et operis immemor, incidit in foveam quam fecit; fractoque femore emergere non valens, a quodam ignobili hostilium partium satellite, cunctis hinc inde videntibus, capite truncatus est, eisdem[6] fere diebus quibus super præ-

A.D. 1144.

The crimes of Robert Marmion and William of Albemarle.

They respectively expel the monks of Coventry and Bridlington.

Marmion is killed by a soldier of the Earl of Chester's army.

Marmion and de Mandevill die about

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[1] *Marmiun*, B.C.L.; *Mamiun*, S.

[2] *interitu*, B.L.S.; corrected to *obitu*, C.

[3] *Marmiun*, B.L.; *Marmium*, S.; *Marmion*, C.

[4] *Albemarlensis*, C.L.S.; *Albermarlensis*, A.B.

[5] *Brelintoniensem*, C.L.S.; *Bridlingtoniensem*, A. and, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

[6] *eisdem*, B.L.S.; *eidem*, C.

A.D. 1144. — the same time (August). William of Albemarle ultimately repented.

dicto Gaufrido judicium Dei celebratum est; quod et[1] in hujus interitu pro causa consimili claruit.[2] Horum quidem exitio, et perspicuo circa illos Dei judicio prænominatus Albemarlensis non est territus, quominus post annos aliquot scelus consimile attentaret. Sed, ut dixi, misericordiam non judicium de manu Omnipotentis Dei, pœnitentiæ et satisfactioni reservatus, suscepit.[3]

Cap. XIII.

De variis casibus regis Stephani.

A.D. 1144. — Stephen besieges Lincoln, but retreats beaten.

Anno regis Stephani nono, qui illorum duorum nequam interitu fuit insignis, idem rex castrum Lincolniense, quod comes Cestrensis obtinebat, obsedit. Ubi dum munitionem exstrueret, operariis subita hostium irruptione præfocatis, confusus abscessit.[4] (Henr. Hunt. viii. § 22.) Verum anno sequenti hujus jacturæ maculam expiavit. Cum enim comes Gloucestrensis[5] et ceteri partis adversæ munitionem quantum sibi utilem, tantum etiam hostibus nocituram, apud Ferendunum construxissent, rex cum sua militia et[6] Lundoniensibus copiis ocius advolans, eadem munitione per dies aliquot fortiter oppugnata, tandem cum ingenti et cruento labore potitus est. Sic igitur circa partes alternabat fortuna, et quibus

A.D. 1145. — Stephen, assisted by the men of London, captures fortifications at Farringdon.

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[1] *et*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[2] At the beginning of the succeeding chapter these events are said to have occurred in Stephen's ninth year.

[3] This chapter like the previous one adds much to the information given by Huntingdon.

[4] From the beginning of the chapter to this point Newburgh almost uses the words of Henry of Huntingdon (viii. § 22). The following passage more particularly shows the similarity, "*quod* vi *ob-* "*tinebat* consul *Cestrensis*, con- "strueret, operatores sui ab hosti- "bus *præfocati* sunt, fere octo- "ginta. Re igitur imperfecta rex "*confusus abscessit.*"

[5] *Gloucestrensis*, B.C.S.; *Glous-trencensis*, L.

[6] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

per secundos paulo ante successus arridebat, hos sinistris repente casibus eludebat. Veruntamen[1] hunc successum, quo videbatur anni præcedentis dedecus expiasse, anni sui undecimi fœdavit infamia. Cum enim Rannulfus[2] comes Cestrensis, pactis cum eo celebratis, fidelis jam illi et devotus effectus, apud Walingefordam[3] profusis eum juvisset auxiliis; ille post modicum eundem comitem, ad se pacifice et secure venientem, apud Norhamtonam[4] in curia sua, regiæ majestatis et honestatis immemor, hostiliter comprehendit, et castrum Lincolniense,[5] cum ceteris quæ usurpasse videbatur, resignare coegit. Quo facto comes relaxatus regi perpes de cetero factus est inimicus.

A.D. 1146.

Stephen treacherously seizes the earl of Chester, who had become his ally.

The earl resigning Lincoln is released, and again becomes the king's enemy.

Cap. XIV.

De Turstino Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et origine Rievallis[6] et Fontium.

A.D. 1131–40.

Dum[7] in regno Angliæ talia provenirent, sanctæ recordationis Turstinus[8] Eboracensis archiepiscopus, post laudabilem annis plurimis administrationem officii, et præclara pietatis opera, cum jam fere expletum militiæ suæ tempus esse sentiret, relicto honore et excusans ab onere, cum monachis Cluniacensibus apud Pontem-fractum ultimos vitæ suæ dies exegit, et appositus est ad[9] patres suos in senectute bona. Cujus, inter cetera bona quæ operatus est, pio studio et religiosæ industriæ

Archbishop Thurstan resigning the see of York (21 Jan. 1139) retires to the Cluniacs of Pontefract.

His death (Feb. 5, 1140).

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[1] *veruntamen*, B.L.R.S.; *verum*, C.

[2] *Rannulfus*, B.S.; *Ranulfus*, C.L.

[3] *Walingefordam*, L.S.; *Walingfordam*, B.; *Walindfordam*, C.; *Walyngfordam*, R.

[4] *Norhamtonam*, C.L.S.; *Northamtonam*, B.

[5] *Lincolniense*, B.L.R.S.; *Lincolniæ*, C.

[6] *Rievallis*, B.C.S.; *Rivallis*, L.

[7] *dum*, B.S.; *cum*, C.L.R.

[8] *Turstinus*, C.S.; *Thurstinus*, B.L.

[9] *ad*, B.L.S.; *apud*, C.

A.D. 1132. potissimum attribuenda est fundatio atque provectio

The origin of Fountains Abbey.

celeberrimi monasterii Fontanensis; cujus memorandi operis talis fuisse occasio perhibetur. Quidam Eboracensis cœnobii monachi, numero duodecim vel tredecim, ferventes spiritu, et scrupulosam habentes conscientiam, dum acutius inspicerent quod juxta traditiones, vel Cluniacenses vel alias consimiles, religiosam quidem vitam ducerent, sed beati Benedicti regulam, quam profitebantur, minus ad literam observarent, aliquid melius fortiusque acturi, nam[1] Cistertiensis ordinis, qui nuper esse cœperat, fama jam celebris erat, suum monasterium reliquerunt. Quorum studium zelumque venerabilis Turstinus[2] amplexus, egressos paterne suscepit, maternæ pietatis sinu fovit, et in suis penetralibus pro tempore occultatos, donec eis, prout animo conceperat, provideret, tandem in loco pascuæ collocavit. Et vocatur locus ille, Fontes: ubi ex tunc et deinceps, tanquam de fontibus Salvatoris, tam multi Joan. iv. 14. hauserunt aquas salientes in vitam æternam.

Rievaulx founded by Walter Espec (A.D. 1131).

Sane paulo ante a nobili viro Waltero Espec invitati, et a felicis memoriæ abbate Bernardo directi, monachi Clarevallenses in Eboracensem provinciam venerant, et in loco qui nunc dicitur Rievallis, tunc autem locus erat horroris, et vastæ solitudinis, mansionem acceperant, præfato viro tradente, et venerabili Turstino episcopalem[3] cum affectu paterno favorem præbente. Horum exemplo monachi illi Eboracenses incitati, atque ad arripienda fortiora animati, memorati abbatis, cujus memoria in benedictione est, magisterio se tradiderunt, et, distincti locis non animis, hi et illi arctam viam quæ ducit ad vitam paribus votis et studiis infatigabiliter currere cœperunt. Benedixitque eis[4] Dominus "benedictionibus[5] cœli desuper, benedictio-

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[1] *nan* (sic), C.

[2] *Turstinus*, C.L.S.; *Thurstinus*, B.

[3] *episcopalew*, B.L.R.S.: the word has been written in the margin of C. but has been erased.

[4] *eis*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[5] Evidently quoted from memory.

Gen. xlix. 25. "nibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum "vellerumque"; ut non solum in Omnipotentis Dei servitio copiosam multitudinem aggregarent, sed etiam largioribus eleemosynis in pauperes dispergendis[1] sufficerent. Quod autem Domino Christo tanquam apes argumentosæ servierint,[2] ex fructibus eorum cognoscitur, numerosis[3] scilicet sanctorum collegiis, quæ ex se, tanquam quædam rationalium apum examina, emiserunt, et non solum per Anglicanas provincias verum etiam in barbaras nationes sparserunt. A.D. 1131.

Cap. XV.

De origine Bellelandæ.[4]

Quia vero duorum insignium monasteriorum nostræ,[5] id est, Eboracensis provinciæ, scilicet Rievallis et Fontium feci, ut decuit, mentionem, Bellalandæ[4] quoque originem debeo explicare, quæ ex loci propinquitate mihi est notior; nam uno tantum milliario[6] distat a Neuburgensi[7] ecclesia, quæ me in Christo a puero aluit. Ut autem paullo altius exordiar: in transmarinis partibus, sicut a majoribus accepi, tres memorabiles viri uno tempore fuere, scilicet Robertus qui agnominatur[8] de Arbusculo, Bernardus, et Vitalis. Hi non ignobiliter eruditi et spiritu ferventes circuibant per castella et vicos, seminantesque secundum Ysaiam super omnes aquas, de conversione multorum fructus

A.D. 1134–48. Foundation of Byland Abbey. Newburgh Priory. Isaias, xxxii. 20.

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[1] *dispergendis*, C.L.S. ; *Dei spergendis* (sic), B.

[2] *servierint*, B.L.S. ; *servirent*, C.R.

[3] *innumerosis*, in C.

[4] The orthography of this word is anomalous. *Bellamlandam* is found in charters as the accusative case, while in the present page *Bellelandæ* and also *Bellalandæ* appear as the genitive on the authority of B.C.L.S.

[5] C. has *scilicet nostræ, id est.*

[6] *tantum milliario*, C.L.S. ; *tamen milliari*, B.

[7] *Neuburgensi*, L.S. and (?) B. ; *Neburgensi*, C. ; *Neubragensi*, R.

[8] *qui agnominatur*, B.L.S. ; *qui cognominatur*, C. ; *cognominatus*, omitting *qui*, R.

A.D. 1134-48.

Founding of Fontevraud (1099)

Savigny (*circa* 1105).

uberes colligebant: pio inter se placito constituto, quod Robertus quidem feminarum communi labore ad meliora conversarum[1] sollicitudinem gereret; Bernardus vero et Vitalis maribus propensius providerent. Robertus itaque famosissimum illud monasterium feminarum de Fonte Ebrandi[2] construxit, et regularibus disciplinis informavit: Bernardus vero apud Tirocinium et Vitalis apud Saviniacum, monachis regulariter institutis, suos quisque ab aliis per quasdam præceptorum proprietates distinxit. Cumque ex his tribus quasi radicibus servorum atque ancillarum Dei per diversas provincias religiosa germina pullularent, quidam Saviniacenses monachi Bellalandam nostram condiderunt.[3] Qui cum essent in initio[4] pauci et pauperes, locumque aptum quærerent, ubi, Deo propitio, cum fructu aliquo habitarent; nobili viro Rogerio de Moubrai,[5] qui et Neuburgensem fundavit ecclesiam, donante, locum prius angustum acceperunt; deinde ad locum alium, et de illo ad tertium, et de tertio ad quartum, sub eodem patrono, diversis ex[6] causis migrantes, ibidem fixis tandem radicibus resederunt. Benedixitque eis Dominus, et de rebus angustis ad magnam jam amplitudinem pervenerunt sub patre Rogerio,[7] mirandæ sinceritatis viro, qui adhuc superstes est, in senecta uberi, administrationis suæ annis circiter quinquaginta et septem expletis. Fuit autem monasterii hujus initium post venerabilis Turstini[8] decessum; memoratis duobus, scilicet[9] Rievallis[10] et

Roger abbot of Byland.

[1] *conversarum*, C.L.S.; *conversari*, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

[2] *Fonte Ebrandi*, C.L.S; *Ebrardi*, by 15th cent. alteration, omitting *Fonte*, B.

[3] Compare the account in the *Monasticon*, v. p. 343.

[4] *in initio*, B.C.L.S.; *numero*, R.

[5] *Moubrai*, B.L.S; *Mubrai*, C.

[6] *ex*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[7] *Rogerio*, B.C.S.; *Rogero*, L. He resigned in 1196, and died three years later.

[8] *Turstini*, C.S.; *Thurstini*, B.L.

[9] *scilicet*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[10] *Rievallis*, C.L.S.; *Rievalis*, B.

Fontium, in bono jam[1] statu agentibus. Et quoniam ante annos jam plurimos Saviniacenses per cujusdam abbatis religiosam instantiam in ritus Clarevallenses transierunt; hæc tria monasteria per unitatem disciplinæ regularis, arctiori quoque animorum nexu cohærent, et tanquam tria nostræ provinciæ lumina, sacræ religionis prærogativa refulgent. Quid autem sentiendum est de his et aliis locis religiosis, quæ[2] in diebus regis Stephani copiosius exstrui vel florere cœperunt, nisi quod castra Dei sunt hæc, in quibus, contra spiritualia nequitiæ, Regis Christi excubant milites et exercentur tirones? Eo quippe tempore, cum regiæ potentiæ omnis jam vigor deperiisset, potentes regni, prout quisque poterat, vel ut suos tutarentur, vel ut alienos fines pervaderent, munitiones construebant. Malis ergo sic[3] pullulantibus atque abundantibus per mollitiem regis Stephani, vel potius per malitiam discordias semper nutrientis diaboli, superabundavit et gloriose eminuit sapiens et salubris provisio Regis Magni, qui nimirum tunc temporis solito propensius ad debellandum regem superbiæ, quales Regem Pacificum decent munitiones sibi noscitur exstruxisse. Denique multo plura sub brevitate temporis, quo Stephanus regnavit, vel potius nomen regis obtinuit, quam centum retro annis servorum et ancillarum Dei monasteria initium in Anglia sumpsisse noscuntur.

A.D. 1134–48.

The Savignian merges in the Cluniac order (A.D. 1148).

More religious houses founded in the troubled reign of Stephen than during the hundred preceding years.

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[1] *jam*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.
[2] *quæ*, C.L.S.; *qui*, B.
[3] *sic*, C.L.S.; om. B

Cap. XVI.

De Gilberto Sempingamensi,[1] *et ordine quem instituit.*

A.D. 1139? Nec silentio prætereundus est venerabilis Gillebertus,[2] vir plane mirabilis, et in custodia feminarum gratiæ singularis; a quo etiam ordo Sempingamensis[3] sumpsit exordium, et cum celeri provectu celebrem statum.[4] Hic[5] ab annis, ut dicitur, adolescentiæ propria nequaquam salute[6] contentus, sed lucrandarum Christo[7] animarum zelo ignitus, infirmiorem sexum propensius cœpit æmulari Dei æmulatione; pio ausu sumpto ex propriæ castitatis conscientia, et gratiæ supernæ fiducia. Cumque cœptis ejus favor videretur arridere divinus, veritus ne forte in vacuum[8] curreret, aut cucurrisset, si erumpentem zelum moderatrix scientia non condiret; præsertim cum minus adhuc a majoribus institutus tam arduam sollicitudinem arripuisset; virum sapientiæ et sanctitatis titulis clarum, venerabilem scilicet[9] abbatem Clarevallensem Bernardum, adeundum putavit; cujus venerandis consiliis informatus, atque in suo proposito roboratus, tanto ferventius quanto confidentius piis cœptis insistere non cessavit. Prosperatusque est in his quæ gerebat, et sicut de nobili patriarcha dicitur, "ibat proficiens atque suc- Gen. xxvi. 13.
"crescens," donec magnus vehementer effectus est, tam in multitudine copiosa ad Omnipotentis Dei servitium

The order of Gilbert of Sempringham.

[1] The name stands thus in C.L.S.; B. has *Sempigamensi*; in R., a 15th cent. MS., the name is more familiarly written, *De Gilberto de Sempryngham.* In the Pipe Rolls (2, 3, and 4 Hen. II.) are several entries as to *Gilbertus de Shimpingeham* or *Shempingeham.*

[2] *Gillebertus*, S.; *Gilbertus*, B.C.L.

[3] *Sempingamensis*, C.L., *Sempigamensis*, B.S.

[4] *celebrem statum*, C.L.S.; *celerem statum*, R.; *celebrem statuit*, B. by late alteration.

[5] *hic autem*, S., but *autem* expuncted.

[6] *propria nequaquam salute*, C.L.S.; B. omits *propria* but has *nequaquam sua salute* in plummet in the margin.

[7] *Christo*, B.L.R.S.; *in Christo*, C.

[8] *vacuum*, B.L.R.S.; *vanum*, C.

[9] *scilicet*, L.S.; *scilicet in*, B.; om. C.

aggregata, quam in adjectione rerum temporalium ad necessaria subsidia corporum; juxta illud Dominicum: "Quærite primum regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et "hæc omnia adjicientur vobis. Denique servorum Dei duo, et ancillarum Dei octo non ignobilia construxit monasteria; quæ et numerosis replevit[1] collegiis, et juxta sibi datam[2] sapientiam regularibus ornavit institutis. Et quidem circa servos Dei instituendos abundavit, sed longe superabundavit, indulta ei divinitus gratia, in sollicitudine feminarum. Quippe in hac parte meo judicio palmam tenet inter omnes quos instituendis[3] regendisque feminis religiosam operam impendisse cognovimus, et quidem ante annos aliquot spiritualibus lucris onustus, jamque decrepitus cœlestis sponsi paranymphus migravit ad Dominum. Porro filiorum et filiarum ejus numerositas permanet, potensque est in terra nostra semen ejus, et generatio ejus benedicetur in seculum.

A.D. 1139?

Matth. vi. 33.

Cap. XVII.

Quomodo Willelmus Eboracensis non accepto pallio depositus sit, et quomodo Henricus successerit.[4]

A.D. 1143–7.

William, archbishop of York, deposed by pope Eugenius.

Venerabili Turstino[5] defuncto, Eboracensis ecclesiæ pontificatum suscepit Wilelmus ejusdem[6] ecclesiæ thesaurarius; vir plane et secundum carnem nobilis, et morum ingenua lenitate amabilis. Qui cum ad sedem

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[1] *replevit*, B.L.S.; *implevit*, C.

[2] *datam*, B.C.S.; *data*, L.

[3] *instituendis*, B.L.R.S.; *instruendis*, C.

[4] *et . . . successerit*, L.S.; om. C.; in S. these words are placed in the margin of the *second* column, remote from the rest of the rubric, which is in the *first* column. B. has the error *successerat*.

[5] *Turstino*, C.L.S.; *Thurstino*, A.B.

[6] *ejusdem*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

A.D. 1147. Apostolicam responsales idoneos pro petendo sollemniter pallio direxisset, emergentibus adversariis et multa contra eum proponentibus, negatum est. Jussusque ad eandem sedem in propria persona accedere, et pro semetipso tanquam ætatem habens allegare, causis tandem [1] ingravescentibus atque invalescentibus adversariis, piæ quoque memoriæ papa Eugenio contra eum, sive per veritatem sive per surreptionem, implacabiliter irritato, depositus est. Reversusque in Angliam secessit Wintoniam, ibique a consecratore suo Henrico honorifice susceptus et splendide exhibitus est [2] fere per decennium, vel excessus vel casus suos deplorans, atque in silentio temporum mutationem exspectans.

Joan. ix. 21.

William returning to England (A.D. 1147) retires to Winchester.

Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains, consecrated in his place (Dec. 7).

Eo sic amoto, cathedram Eboracensem Henricus abbas Fontanensis [3] suscepit, annitente potissimum venerabili Eugenio; qui ejus olim apud Clarevallem sub patre Bernardo sodalis et condiscipulus fuerat, ejusque vitam, mores et industriam optime noverat. Denique electioni ejus favorem promptissimum præbuit, et sollemniter consecratum [4] pallii prærogativa insignivit. Quem tamen reversum in Angliam rex Stephanus recipere noluit, nisi præstita sibi juratoria cautione de fidelitate servanda. Negato autem ei favore regio, nec cives Eboracenses eum recipere voluerunt, studia in depositum præsulem propensiora habentes. Interdicta [5] ergo propter hanc pervicaciam civitate, et suspensis ecclesiæ organis, adveniens Eustachius regis filius sacra officia celebrari præcepit, et prætentis terroribus non cedentes civitate extrusit. Propinqui quoque depositi, et proprio furore et regio favore feroces, cunctis qui depositioni ejus consensisse videbantur erant infesti atque terribiles, in tantum ut seniorem archidiaconum,

Stephen unwilling to receive the new archbishop.

The citizens of York refusing likewise to receive him, the city is placed under interdict.

Prince Eustace compels the infraction of the interdict.

An archdeacon killed by the new archbishop's opponents.

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[1] *tandem*, B.L.S.; *tamen*, C.R.
[2] *est*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[3] S. has *Fontanenssis*.
[4] *consecratum*, B.C.L.S.; om. A.
[5] *interdicta*, C.L.S.; *interdicti*, B.

qui forte in manus eorum inciderat, abscidere minime vererentur. Verum post annos aliquot rege placato cives Eboracenses proprium antistitem cum gaudio receperunt, sicque post diutinum discordiæ malum, illuxit desideratæ pacis serenum.

A.D. 1147.

After some years the quarrel subsides.

Cap. XVIII.

De causa expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ secundæ.

A.D. 1146, Christmas.

Stephen, despising an ancient superstition, is crowned within Lincoln.

Anno regni sui duodecimo,[1] cum rex Stephanus extorta,[2] ut supra dictum est, de manibus comitis Cestrensis civitate Lincolnia potiretur, ibidem in celebritate Natalis Dominici sollemniter voluit coronari; vetustam superstitionem,[3] qua reges Anglorum eandem civitatem ingredi vetabantur, laudabiliter parvipendens. Denique incunctanter ingressus, nihil sinistri ominis,[4] sicut illa vanitas comminabatur, expertus est: sed regiæ coronationis sollemnibus adimpletis, post dies aliquot cum exsultatione et superstitiosæ vanitatis derisione [5] egressus est.

The Second Crusade (A.D. 1147).

Eodem anno turba magna, quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus populis et tribubus et linguis Christianis, sub [6] charactere crucifixi Domini, Ierosoly-

[1] Both Newburgh and Huntingdon place the Lincoln coronation (at Christmas) and the beginning of the Second Crusade (1147) in the same year. From this it appears that their year, as in most English chronicles, began at Christmas, and therefore that the coronation took place in the *historical year* 1146. Gervase also gives Christmas 1147, that is, 25 Dec. 1146, as the date of the Lincoln ceremony.

[2] *extorta*, B.C.S.; *exorta*, L.

[3] See lib. ii. cap. ix. for the conduct of Henry II. in regard to this superstition. See also Matthew Paris *sub anno* 1200.

[4] *ominis*, L.S.; *criminis*, A.B.; *hominis*, C.

[5] *derisione*, B.C.S.; L. has had *haud derisione*, but the latter word is expuncted, and *deinde* is written in the margin.

[6] C. has *quæ sub*.

A.D. 1147. mitanum iter arripuit. Cujus celeberrimæ expeditionis talis fuisse causa perhibetur. Est Mesopotamiæ trans flumen magnum Euphraten civitas nobilis, quæ quidem vulgo Rohesia,[1] sed rectius et antiquo nomine Edissa, vocatur; a diebus Constantini Magni Christianæ religionis cultui dedita, et beatissimi Thomæ apostoli allatis ex India reliquiis inclita. Hujus civitatis tantus in fide Catholica fervor sub Valente imperatore Arriano fuisse memoratur, ut cum ab eodem missus advenisset præfectus, omnes qui ad Apostoli basilicam orandi studio convenirent gladio mactaturus, nullus domi resedisse referatur: sed omnes a minimo usque ad maximum, ut pro fidei veritate morerentur, illuc multo alacrius quam ad epulas concurrisse, in tantum, ut quædam muliercula parvulum secum filium trahens, dum properat, se simul et sobolem pro Christo expositura ad victimam, irrumperet officium judicis illuc cum terrore maximo properantis. Denique a multis retro annis, cum Sarraceni occulto Dei judicio supra modum in Christianos grassari permissi, captis civitatibus clarissimis, scilicet Alexandria, Antiochia, Jerusalem, Damasco, Ægyptum, Syriam, aliasque Orientis provincias in quibus Christus colebatur occupassent, atque in his omnibus Christianum nomen exterminassent, sola hæc civitas, propugnatrix non tantum murorum sed etiam finium suorum in medio hostium innumerabilium et ferocissimorum, invicta perseveravit usque ad tempus expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ prioris, qua Jerusalem et Antiochiam Christiani expugnatis obtinuere Sarracenis. Tunc enim Turcis incursantibus laborantes Edisseni auxilium a nostro exercitu petierunt, et virum fortissimum Baldewinum,[2] fratrem illustrissimi ducis Godefridi,[3] primum Gallici generis ducem acceperunt. Quo in regem Ierosolymitanum

Edessa a famous centre of Eastern Christianity.

Story of the persecution under Valens.

Socrat. Schol. iv. 14.

After the irruption of the Saracens Edessa had remained as a bulwark of Christianity up to the time of the First Crusade.

Edessa then received Baldwin brother of Godfrey de Bouillon as

[1] *Rohesia*, B.C.S.; *Roesya*, L.
[2] *Baldewinum*, C.L.S.; *Baldewynum*, B.
[3] *Godefridi*, B.L.S.; *Godefredi*, C.

A.D. 1147.

post fratrem Godefridum sublimato, principatus Edissenus per alios strenue administratus est usque ad Jocelinum: cujus lubrici hominis petulantia atque libidine actum est, ut civitas, Christianæ religionis titulo fere per nongentos annos insignis, in manus Turcorum, et sacræ fidei exterminium unius civis perfidi proditione traderetur. Is erat genere Armenius, ejusdem civitatis civis indigena; et jure hereditario habitabat in quadam turri muro conjuncta. Hujus filiam prænominatus civitatis princeps formæ captus illecebra vi abstraxit, et stupro polluit. Ille filiam dehonestatam dolens, et astute dissimulatam doloris magnitudinem, ut de uno ulcisceretur, ad multorum perniciem trahens, nocte sacratissima[1] Dominicæ Nativitatis, cum sacræ in ecclesiis more Christiano celebrarentur vigiliæ, invitatos pactis clandestinis Turcos intromisit in civitatem.[2] Qui nimirum Christianum sanguinem insatiabiliter[3] sitientes, irruerunt in populum secure in ecclesia excubantem; et archiepiscopum quidem, ut dicitur, altari assistentem mactarunt. Populum vero non resistentem, sed subiti casus stupore rigentem, gladio trucidarunt. Sic capta et in potestatem spurcissimæ gentis redacta est Edissa tantis retro temporibus[4] semper invicta, et antiqua[5] fidei Christianæ alumna. Latissimis quoque finibus ejus pertinaci hostium furore pervasis, et in eorum immundissimam possessionem cedentibus, Christianæ religionis cultus trans Euphraten funditus deletus est. Tanti mali fama exciti[6] Christiani nominis fortissimi prin-

prince, and prospered till the days of Jocelyn.

Jocelyn offering violence to the daughter of a citizen, Edessa is by him betrayed to the Saracens (A.D. 1144).

[1] *sacratissima*, B.C.L.S.; *sacratissimæ*, R.

[2] William of Tyre (lib. xvi. c. 4) makes no reference to this story. He tells of the usual siege processes; the walls were undermined and fell, and the city was taken by storm.

[3] *insatiabiliter*, B.C.; *insatiabiter* (sic), L.S.

[4] S. originally had *annis* here, but now by correction reads *temporibus*.

[5] *antiqua*, C.L.R.S.; *antiqua*, B.

[6] *exciti*, B.C.S.; *excitati*, A., and, by alteration, L.

A.D. 1147. cipes, scilicet Conradus Italiæ atque Germaniæ[1] imperator, et Lodovicus[2] rex Francorum,[3] Dominicum characterem mente promptissima susceperunt, et cum eis multi nobiles populique[4] innumerabiles ex cunctis fere provinciis Christianis.

The emperor Conrad and king Louis take the cross.

Cap. XIX.

De errore Eudonis[5][6] de Stella, et quomodo periit.

A.D. 1148. Circa idem tempus Eugenius papa Romanus, ad sedis Apostolicæ regimen ex vitæ regularis districtione assumptus, ecclesiasticæ studio disciplinæ in Gallias veniens, generale concilium instituit Remis. In quo dum[7] sederet cum omni frequentia episcoporum atque nobilium, oblatus est ei quidam vir pestifer, qui, spiritu plenus diabolico, præstigiali astutia tam multos seduxerat, ut fretus sequentium numero, per diversa loca formidabilis oberraret; ecclesiis maxime monasteriisque infestus. Diu itaque multumque[8] debacchatus, tandem[9] sapientia vincente malitiam a Remensi archiepiscopo captus est, et sancto concilio exhibitus. Eudo is dicebatur, natione Brito, agnomen habens de Stella; homo illiteratus et idiota, ludificatione dæmonum ita dementatus, ut quoniam[10] sermone Gallico Eun diceretur, ad suam personam pertinere crederet, quod in ecclesiasticis exorcismis dicitur, scilicet, "per Eum qui venturus est

Heresy of Éon de l'Étoile.

He is condemned by the council of Rheims (held March 21, 1148).

Éon, a Breton by birth, wanders as a prophet with a horde of disciples.

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[1] *Germaniæ*, C.S.; *Germanæ*, B. L.

[2] *Lodovicus*, B.S.; *Lodowicus*, C.L.

[3] *Francorum*, B.C.L.S.; *Franciæ*, R.

[4] *populique*, B.L.S.; *pluresque*, C.

[5] *Eudonis*, C.L.S.; *Heudonis*, B.

[6] Éon de l'Étoile, a gentleman of Loudéac, became a hermit in the forest of Brocéliande. He believed himself to be in some way the successor of Merlin. Martin, *Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 458, ed. 1878.

[7] *dum*, B.L.R.S.; *cum*, C.

[8] *multumque*, C.L.S.; *multum*, A.B.

[9] *tandem*, B.L.S.; *tandem de*, C.; R. has *tandem a Remensi archiepiscopo captus est, quia sapientia vincente malitiam et sancto &c.*

[10] *quoniam*, B C.L.R.S.: *quia*, A.

"judicare vivos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem." A.D. 1148.
Ita plane fatuus ut Eum et Eun[1] nesciret distinguere, sed supra modum stupenda cæcitate crederet se esse dominatorem et judicem vivorum et mortuorum. Eratque per diabolicas præstigias tam[2] potens ad capiendas simplicium animas ut, tanquam ex muscis aranearum opere irretitis, seductam sibi multitudinem aggregaret: quæ tota illum tanquam dominum dominorum individue sequeretur. Et interdum quidem mira velocitate per diversas provincias ferebatur;[3] interdum vero morabatur cum suis omnibus[4] in locis desertis et inviis, indeque instigante diabolo erumpebat improvisus, ecclesiarum maxime ac monasteriorum infestator. Accedebant ad eum plerumque[5] noti ejus et propinqui, erat enim non infimi generis; sive ut eum familiari ausu corriperent, sive ut quomodo[6] se circa eum res haberet cautius explorarent. Videbatur autem esse circa eum ingens gloria, apparatus fastusque regius, et qui cum eo erant, sollicitudinis laborisque expertes, pretiose indui, splendide[7] epulari, et in summa lætitia agere videbantur: in tantum ut plerique, qui ad corripiendum eum venerant, conspecta ejus non vera sed fantastica gloria, corrumperentur. Fiebant enim hæc[8] fantastice per dæmones; a quibus scilicet misera illa multitudo, non veris et solidis, sed aeriis[9] potius cibis in locis desertis alebatur.[10] Nam, sicut postmodum[11]

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[1] *Eum et Eun*, B.L.R.S.; *Eun et Eum*, C.; B. has the error *factum et Eum, &c.*

[2] *tam*, B.L.R.S.; *ita*, C.

[3] *ferebatur*, B.C., and L. after alteration from *ferabatur*; S., though the letter *a* is obscured, now reads *ferabotur*. This fact tends to show the relationship of the MSS.

[4] *omnibus*, C.L.S.; A., and B. by 15th cent. alteration, *sequacibus*.

[5] *plerumque*, C.L.S.; *plurimique*, A.B.

[6] *quomodo*, C.L.S.; om. B., but the 15th cent. hand supplies *qualiter*, and A. has the same word.

[7] *splendide*, B.L.R.S.; *splendidissime*, C.

[8] *enim hæc*, L.S.; *enim inter fantastice*, A. and, doubtfully, B.; *enim sed*, R.; *autem hæc*, C.

[9] *aeriis*, C.L.S.; *aeris*, B.

[10] *alebatur*, C.L.S.; *alebantur*, A.B.

[11] *postmodum*, B.L.R.S.; *postea*, C.

A.D. 1148.

Éon practises marvellous deceptions by the aid of demons.

per quosdam audivimus qui in ejus fuerant comitatu, eoque sublato tanquam agentes pœnitentiam per orbem vagabantur, in promptu eis erant, quotiescunque volebant, panes, carnes, et pisces, et quique cibi lautiores. Verum quod [1] iidem cibi non solidi sed aerii fuerunt,[2] subministrantibus invisibiliter spiritibus aeris hujus, ad capiendas magis quam pascendas animas, hinc elucet,[3] quod quantamcunque ex cibis illis repletionem modico ructu exinanitio [4] sequebatur, tanta mox succedente esurie ut eosdem cibos illico repetere cogerentur. Quicunque autem forte ad eos accedens ex cibis eorum vel modicum gustasset, ex participatione mensæ dæmoniorum mente mutata [5] spurcissimæ multitudini continuo adhærebat; et quicunque ab eis aliquid in qualibet [6] specie accepisset, periculi expers non erat. Denique fertur quendam militem propinquum illius pestiferi accessisse ad eum, et simpliciter monuisse, ut, abjurata nefanda secta illa, per communionem Christianæ gratiæ proprio generi redderetur. Ille hominem astute suspendens, ostendit ei in [7] multiplici specie fantasticarum opum amplitudinem; ut blandiente visarum [8] rerum illecebra caperetur. "Propinquus," inquit, "noster es: "sume de nostro, quod et quantum vis." Verum homo prudens cum verba correptionis in ventum fudisset, exivit ut abiret. Armiger vero ejus conspectum miræ pulchritudinis accipitrem in propriam perniciem concupivit. Quo petito et accepto, dominum suum jam abeuntem cum lætitia sequebatur. Cui ille, "Abjice," inquit, "cito quod portas, non enim est avis, ut vide-"tur, sed dæmon sic transformatus." Cujus verbi

Story of an esquire tempted by a demon in the shape of a hawk.

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[1] *quod*, C.L.S.: *quidem*, A.B.

[2] *fuerunt*, A.B.C.: *fuerint*, L.S.

[3] *elucet*, B.C.S.; *elucent* (?), L.

[4] *exinanitio*, C.S.; *exinanito*, B.R.; *exinnanito* altered to *exinanito*, L.

[5] *mutata*, C.L.S.; *mutata est*, B.

[6] *qualibet*, B.C. and, by correction from *quolibet*, L.; *quolibet*, S.

[7] *in*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[8] *visarum*, C.L.S.; *multarum*, A.; om. B.

veritas post modicum claruit. Cum enim insipiens[1] nollet audire monentem, primo conquestus[2] quod accipiter ille[3] unguibus sibi pugnum fortius stringeret, mox ab eodem per manum in aerem sublevatus deinceps[4] non comparuit. Sane cum pestifer ille per operationem Sathanæ[5] ita debaccharetur ut dictum est, sæpius a principibus ad vestigandum et persequendum eum exercitus frustra mittebatur; quæsitus enim non inveniebatur. Tandem vero fraudatus ope dæmonum,[6] cum non amplius per illum debacchari sinerentur, non enim amplius possunt quam a superioribus potestatibus justo Dei judicio relaxantur, levi negotio a Remensi archiepiscopo comprehensus est; et populus quidem stolidus, qui eum sequebatur, dilapsus est. Porro discipuli, qui ei arctius adhærebant, ejusque cooperatores exstiterant, cum ipso[7] capti sunt. Cum ergo staret in conspectu concilii, interrogatus a summo pontifice quisnam esset, respondit: "Ego sum Eun,[8] qui venturus est "judicare vivos et mortuos, et seculum per ignem." Habebat autem[9] in manu sua baculum inusitatæ formæ, in superiori scilicet parte bifurcum. Interrogatus quid sibi vellet baculus ille; "Res," inquit, "grandis[10] "mysterii est. Quamdiu enim,[11] sicut nunc videtis, "duobus cœlum capitibus suspicit,[12] duas orbis partes "Deus possidet, tertiam mihi partem cedens. Porro

A.D. 1148.

Soldiers are sent in vain to capture Éon.

At last he is seized by the archbishop of Rheims.

His insane answering before the Council of Rheims.

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[1] *insipiens ille*, but the latter word expuncted, S.

[2] *conquestus est*, but *est* expuncted S.

[3] *ille*, C.L.S.; *ille ut*, (?) B.

[4] *sublevatus deinceps*, B.L.R.S.; *sublevatur et sic deinceps*, C.

[5] *per . . . Sathanæ*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[6] Bouquet (xiii. 98. note *a*.) somewhat unnecessarily points out the fabulous nature of the preceding stories, adding: "Quare Robertus "de Monte in appendice ad chronicon Sigeberti Gemblacensis, anno "1147: 'de cujus incantationibus et 'phantasiis,' inquit, 'melius est 'silere quam loqui.'"

[7] *ipso*, C.L.S.; *eo*, A.B.

[8] *Eun*, B.L.S.; om. C.; *Euun*, R.

[9] *autem*, B.C.S.; *enim*, L.

[10] *res, inquit, grandis*, B.L.R.S.; *respondit, grandis*, C.

[11] *enim*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[12] *suspicit*, L.R.S. and, by late alteration, B.; *suscipit*, C.

A.D. 1148. "si eadem duo superiora capita baculi humiliem[1] "usque ad terram, et inferiorem ejus partem, quæ "simplex est, erigam, ut cœlum suspiciat, duabus "mundi partibus mihi retentis, tertiam tantummodo "partem Deo relinquam." Ad hæc risit universa[2] synodus, derisitque[3] hominem tam profunde datum in reprobum sensum. Jussus autem ex decreto concilii, ne pestis iterum serperet, diligenter custodiri,[4] tempore modico supervixit. Discipuli vero ejus quos magnis insignierat[5] nominibus, alium scilicet vocans "Sapien-"tiam," alium "Scientiam," alium "Judicium," et in hunc modum ceteros; cum sanam doctrinam nulla ratione reciperent, sed potius obstinatissime de falsis[6] gloriarentur vocabulis, in tantum, ut ille qui "Judi-"cium" dicebatur,[7] suis detentoribus ultricem infelici fiducia comminaretur sententiam; curiæ prius, et postea ignibus traditi,[8] ardere potius quam ad vitam corrigi maluerunt. Audivi a quodam venerabili viro, qui interfuit dum hæc agerentur, quod audierit illum, qui "Judicium" dicebatur, cum ad supplicium duceretur, crebro dicentem, "Terra finde te;"[9] tanquam ad oris ejus imperium terra aperienda esset, et devoratura, sicut Dathan et Abiron, hostes ejus. Tanta vis semel infixi cordibus erroris fuit.

He is condemned to prison, but lives only a short time.

Severity shown to his followers.

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[1] *humiliem*, L.; *humilem* corrected to *humiliem*, S.; *humiliam*, B.; *humiliavero*, A.; *humilem*, C.R.

[2] B. has here probably had a different reading, but it has been obscured by late alterations.

[3] *derisitque*, C.L.S.; *derisit*, A.B.

[4] He was handed to the regent Suger for imprisonment.

[5] *insignierat*, C.L.S.; *insigniret*, A.B.

[6] *falsis*, C.L.S.; *suis*, A., and, by 15th cent. alteration, B.

[7] *dicebatur*, C.L.S.; *tradebatur*, B.

[8] *traditi*, B.L.R.S.; *tradi*, C.

[9] *finde te*, B.L.S.; *findite*, R.; *funde*, C.

CAP. XX.

Quomodo Conradus imperator et rex Lodovicus[1] *exercitum duxerunt in Orientem.*

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°XL°VII°, tantæ expeditionis explicito apparatu, uterque princeps iter arripuit, exercitu[2] bipartito. Imperator enim præcedebat itinere dierum aliquot, cum Italorum et Germanorum aliarum quoque gentium amplissimis copiis. Rex vero sequebatur, Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Provincialium, Aquitanorum equestri simul et pedestri agmine comitatus. Ingressi[3] Pannonias, illarum gentium rege placato, ut exercitui venalia non deessent, Danubium transierunt; et per Thracias, suppetente venalium copia, prospere usque ad urbem Constantinopolitanam venerunt. Ibi fixis extra urbem tentoriis per dies aliquot exercitum recreantes, pactis tandem cum ejusdem urbis imperatore celebratis, angustum illud fretum, quod brachium Sancti Georgii[4] dicitur, transmearunt. Ingressique Asiam Minorem, cujus pars quædam Constantinopolitanæ ditionis est, partem vero reliquam soldanus Iconii possidet, Græci imperatoris perfidiam experti sunt: cujus tamen nostri quibusdam excessibus motum incurrerant; cum et Omnipotentis Dei, superbe et indisciplinate agendo, contra se iracundiam accendissent. Legimus olim[5] numerosissimum Domini exercitum unius hominis etiam occulte peccantis scelere ita inquinatum, et favore divino nudatum, ut enervis et languidus appareret.[6] Consultus Dominus respondit

A.D. 1147.

The Second Crusade.

The expedition reaches Constantinople.

The crusaders enter Asia Minor.

Perfidy of the emperor Manuel Comnenus.

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[1] *Lodovicus*, B.S.; *Lodowicus*, C.L.

[2] *exercitu*, B.C.L.S.; *et exercitu*, R.

[3] *ingressi*, C.L.S.; *qui ingressi*, A., and B. by 15th cent. alteration.

[4] *Georgii*, B.C.S.; *Gregorii*, A.L.

[5] *olim*, B.C.L.S.; *enim olim*, R.

[6] *appareret*, B.L.R.S.; *videretur*, C.

A.D. 1148. populum anathemate esse pollutum, et adjecit: "Anathema in medio tui est, Israel: non poteris stare adversus hostes tuos, donec deleatur ex te qui hoc contaminatus est scelere." Porro in nostro illo exercitu tanta, tam contra Christianam quam contra[1] castrensem etiam disciplinam, mala increverant, ut mirum non sit, quod eis tanquam pollutis et immundis favor nequaquam divinus arriserit. Castra enim a castratione luxuriæ dicuntur. At castra illa nostra casta[2] non erant: in quibus utique infelici quadam licentia multorum[3] spumabant libidines. Præsumentes quoque de multitudine et instructu copiarum, atque ita carnem brachium suum superbe ponentes, in Domini,[4] pro quo æmulari videbantur, misericordia atque potentia minus confidebant; declaratumque in eis est, quia[5] "Deus superbis resistit; humilibus autem[6] dat "gratiam." Præterea in terra Christiani imperatoris, cum quo fœdus percusserant, et quo jubente venalia illis abundabant, minus a rapinis temperabant. Immisit ergo eis infensus imperator hinc famem, inde hostem:[7] tanti sanguinis Christiani periculum Christianus minime perhorrescens. Denique venalibus prohibitis, cum pro victualibus congerendis propter hostium insidias nostri non valerent excurrere, primo exercitus fame contabuit; deinde hostium exceptus insidiis, vel Turcorum gladios inebriavit, vel Christianæ statum libertatis ignominiosissimæ atque infelicissimæ servitutis sorte mutavit. Nec superbis et[8] immundis castigandis iræ defuere cœlestes, et plerumque,[9] ut dicitur, effusa desuper intempestivorum imbrium inundatio de

Jos. vii. 13.

Immorality of the crusaders.

Jerem. xvii. 5.

Jac. iv. 6.

The army reduced to straits by the unfriendliness of the Greek emperor.

[1] *Christianam quam contra*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[2] *casta*, L.S.; *castra*, A.B.C.

[3] *multorum*, C.L.S.; *multi*, A., and, by alteration, B.

[4] *Domini*, B.L.S.; *Deum*, C.

[5] *quia*, this is the reading in A.B.C.L.S.R. See p. 76, note 2.

[6] *autem*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[7] *hostem*, B.L.R.S.; *hostes*, C.

[8] *et*, C.L.S.; *atque*, A.B.R.

[9] *plerumque*, C.L.S.; *plurimique*, B.

exercitu nostro plus minuit quam hostilis gladius devoravit. Itaque duorum exercituum maximorum [1] parte longe majori diversis casibus et [2] cladibus profligata, cum parte residua duo illi magni principes ægre exitium evadentes Ierosolymam venerunt: et nulla re memorabili facta, inglorii recesserunt.

A.D. 1148.

The diminished host reaches Jerusalem and returns having effected little.

Cap. XXI.

De Raimundo principe Antiocheno, et captione Ascalonis [3]

A.D. 1148–53.

On the retreat of the crusaders the Saracens wax bolder.

Illis ad propria cum ignominia [4] reversis, Sarraceni de necatæ vel captæ multitudinis Christianæ ingentibus spoliis ditati, facti sunt incliti. Denique, successu superbi et confidentia virium plus solito efferati, Christianis se finibus immerserunt, omne genus Christianum in orientis partibus abradere meditantes, atque hujus molitionis quasi fausta principia, interfecto [5] Raimundo Christianissimo Antiochiæ principe, prælibantes. Quippe hic fuerat Christiani nominis in oriente fortissimus propugnator, atque insignium gestorum titulis veteris in se Machabæi transfuderat gloriam. Memini me, cum essem adolescentulus, vidisse quendam venerabilem monachum ab orientis partibus cum magnis suffragiis venientem, qui ex ejusdem clarissimi principis olim militia fuerat. Hic inter plura, quæ de ipso memoranda referebat, eum ob insigne virtutis Turcis tam terribilem fuisse perhibebat, ut quotiens contra eum producturi essent exercitum, contra gladium ejus centum milites, et totidem contra ejus lanceam scriberent. Cum ergo, ut dixi, iidem hostes recentibus Christianorum cladibus alacres, fines Antiochenos so-

Character of Raymond prince of Antioch.

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[1] *maximorum*, B.L.S.R.; *magnorum*, C.

[2] *et*, B.C.S.; *et in*, L.

[3] *Ascalonis*, C.S.; *Asscalonæ*, B. *Asscalonis*, L.

[4] S. has *ignononia* (sic).

[5] *interfecta* in C.

A.D. 1148–53.

Raymond rashly attacks the Saracens and is slain.

Baldwin of Jerusalem rescues Antioch.

Under Baldwin the Christians begin to recover lost ground.

The Templars fortify Gaza.

Baldwin captures Ascalon.

lito ferocius incursarent, ille conventum non sustinens sufficientium copiarum, paulo inconsideratius ex virtutis conscientia cum paucis se dedit discrimini, oppressusque multitudine,[1] post fortia gesta non secus quam antiquus ille Machabæus occubuit. Cum autem hostes, erectis usque in cœlum animis, Antiochiam irrumpere cogitarent,[2] audito Christiani sideris occasu, magnanimus rex Ierosolymorum Balduinus[3] cum cruce Dominica et militia Templi ocior advolat, et hostium molitiones præveniens, attonitam[4] civitatem ingreditur. Hostes nihilominus irruunt,[5] et civitatem obsidione concludunt. Sed Qui superbis paulo ante restiterat, humilibus illis dedit uberem gratiam. Deo enim propitio paulatim respirantes atque invalescentes, hostes jam crebris successibus tumidos non solum obsidionem deserere, sed etiam finibus suis cum dedecore excedere compulerunt; viribusque paulatim crescentibus post modicum[6] hostium fines ingressi, eos, qui[7] paulo ante aliena invaserant, propria cum summo periculo tueri coegerunt. Denique post annos aliquot militia Templi Gazam, antiquissimam Palæstinæ civitatem olim dirutam, reparavit, et fertilissimos ejus fines obtinuit. Inclitus quoque rex Balduinus[8] Ascalonam, ejusdem provinciæ florentissimam atque munitissimam civitatem, quæ nunquam antea a[9] Christianis expugnari poterat, cum multa gloria expugnavit et cepit; sicque tota Palæstina in jus et potestatem Christianorum redacta est.

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[1] *multitudine*, B.L.S.; *in multitudine*, C.

[2] S. has *cogitaret*.

[3] *Balduinus*, L.S.; *Baldewinus*, C.B.

[4] *attonitam*, B.C.L.S.; *Antiochiam*, R.

[5] C. has *ruunt*.

[6] *post modicum*, B.L.R.S.; *postmodum*, C.

[7] *eos, qui*, C.L.S.; *eosque*, B.

[8] *Balduinus*, S.; *Baldewinus*, C.L.; *Baldwinus*, B.

[9] *a*, B.C.S.; om. L.

Cap. XXII.

De intestinis malis Angliæ sub rege Stephano.

A.D. 1149.

Lamentable condition of England.

Interea dum circa nostros vel a nostris in oriente talia gererentur, Anglia intestinis malis exsanguis et saucia tabescebat. Et quidem de quodam tempore plebis antiquæ scriptum est: "In diebus illis non erat "rex in Israel: sed unusquisque quod rectum sibi "videbatur faciebat." (Judic. xvii. 6.) At in Anglia sub rege Stephano pejus fiebat. Nam quia tunc impotens erat rex, et per regis impotentiam languida lex, quibusdam quod rectum sibi videbatur agentibus, multi quod insita ratione malum esse sciebant, sublato regis et legis metu, proclivius faciebant. Et primo quidem videbatur regnum Angliæ scissum esse in duo; quibusdam regi, quibusdam vero imperatrici faventibus. Non quod vel rex vel imperatrix suæ parti potenter imperaret; sed quod suorum bellicis quisque studiis pro tempore niteretur. Neuter enim in suos imperiose agere et disciplinæ vigorem exercere poterat: sed uterque suos, ne a se deficerent, nihil negando mulcebat. Sane inter partes, ut superius dictum est, diu multumque certatum est, alternante fortuna. Processu vero temporis inter eas, jam sæpius fortunæ infidelitatem expertas, remissiores motus esse cœpere: quod tamen[1] Angliæ non cessit in bonum. Illis quippe diutinæ concertationis pertæsis, et mollius agentibus, provinciales discordantium procerum motus efferbuere. Castella quippe[2] per singulas provincias studio partium crebra[3] surrexerant, erantque in Anglia quodammodo tot reges, vel potius tyranni, quot domini

Neither king nor empress really ruled a faction, but each, fearing desertions, acted weakly.

When the efforts of the rivals slackened private wars among the nobles increased.

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[1] *tamen*, B.L.S.; *tantum*, C.

[2] *quippe*, A.B.L.R.S.; C. alone has the better reading *quoque*. See "*illis quippe*" three lines above.

[3] *crebra*, B.L.S.; *crebro*, C.

A.D. 1149. castellorum, habentes singuli percussuram proprii numismatis, et potestatem subditis, regio more, dicendi juris. Cumque ita singuli excellere quærerent, ut quidam superiorem, quidam vel parem sustinere non possent, feralibus inter se odiis disceptantes, rapinis atque incendiis regiones clarissimas corruperunt, et in fertilissima olim patria fere omne robur panis absumpserunt.[1] Aquilonalis[2] vero regio, quæ in potestatem[3] David regis Scottorum usque ad flumen Tesyam[4] cesserat, per ejusdem regis industriam in pace agebat. Ad quem Henricus ex nepte ejus, id est, Matilde olim imperatrice, Andegavensis comitis filius, et Angliæ rex futurus, a matre missus jam pubes accessit: et ab eo apud Lugubaliam,[5] quæ vulgo Carleil dicitur, cingulum militare accepit, præstita prius, ut dicitur, cautione, quod nulla parte terrarum quæ in ejusdem regis[6] ex Anglia ditionem[7] transisissent, ejus ullo tempore mutilaret heredes.

There were as many tyrants as lords of castles, each minting money and administering justice.

The king of Scots, ruling as far south as the Tees, kept that district in peace.

Prince Henry knighted by king David at Carlisle (May 22, 1149).

Cap. XXIII.

De rege Scottorum David et filio ejus, et filiis filii[8] ejus.

A.D. 1152. Iisdem temporibus juvenis clarissimus, et, quod in homine latas seculi vias ambulante invenire difficile est, cum morum suavitate, eorundem etiam sinceritate conspicuus, Henricus scilicet unicus memorati regis David filius, Norhthumbriæ[9] comes, et regni successor

Scottish affairs.

Death of Henry son of David king of Scotland.

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[1] *absumpserunt*, B.C.S.; *assumpserunt*, L.

[2] *Aquilonalis*, C.S.; *Aquilonaris*, A.B.; *Aquilonis*, L.

[3] *potestatem*, B.L.S.; *potestate*, C.

[4] *Tesyam*, B.L.S.; *Thesiam*, C.

[5] *Lugubaliam*, C.L.R.S.; *Lugabaliam*, B.

[6] *regis*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[7] C. has *ditione*.

[8] *filii*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[9] *Norhthumbriæ*, L.S.; *Northumbriæ*, B.C., with other variations below.

speratus, cum ingenti Anglorum simul et Scottorum luctu morte immatura rebus excessit humanis, relictis ex conjuge, quæ Guarennensis fuerat comitis[1] filia, tribus filiis et totidem filiabus. Casus quidem acerbissimus viscera pii patris concussit, sed constantis animi pondus, erat enim vir bonus et sapiens, decentem doloris modum fecit, complexusque nepotes duos, nam tertium, ni fallor, gravida nondum mater[2] ediderat, filium in eis sibi[3] vivere reputans, consolationem recepit. Denique[4] post annos aliquot generale debitum soluturus, Malcolmum filii primogenitum adhuc impuberem regni successorem declaravit; fratri vero ejus Wilelmo comitatum Norhthumbriæ assignavit. Et major quidem natu, tam morum similitudine quam corporis habitudine, patrissare magis; minor vero matrissare, id est, materni generis imaginem in vultu et moribus prætendere, videbatur. Dormivit ergo rex Scottorum David cum patribus suis, vir magnus et gloriosus in seculo, nec minoris gloriæ in Christo. Nam sicut accepimus a fide dignis testibus, qui ejus vitam actusque noverunt, vir fuit religiosus et pius: vir multæ prudentiæ, summique moderaminis in administratione temporalium, et nihilominus magnæ devotionis in Deum; vir propter regni negotia ad divina nequaquam officia segnior, vel propter divina quibus insistebat officia ad negotia regni obtunsior. Post honorabiles nuptias et thorum immaculatum, ex quo illi unicus natus est filius, qui simillimis moribus patrem exprimeret, annis plurimis in cælibatu permansit.[5] In piis largitionibus tam profusus, ut præter copiosam dispersionem in pauperes, eleemosynas illius

A.D. 1152.

His three sons.

Malcolm the eldest, while still under age, succeeds his grandfather David; William, the second son, becomes earl of Northumberland.

Death of David (May 24, 1153).

His character.

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[1] *comitis*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *nondum mater*, L.S.; *mater nondum*, B.C.

[3] *sibi*, B.L.S.; *igitur*, C.

[4] *Denique*, B.L.S.; *deinde*, C.

[5] *permansit*, C.L.S.; *remansit*, A.B.

A.D. 1153. enarrent ab ipso fundatæ, ditatæ, ornatæ multæ ecclesiæ sanctorum. Sane cum illi, quem Deus pronuntiat se invenisse virum secundum cor suum, cum titulo vocabuli in multis simillimus fuerit; in quodam etiam non parvo, inter multa et præclara bona, excessu ab ejus similitudine non recessit. Sicut enim ille post multa virtutum insignia in adulterium simul et homicidium, in altero enervis, in altero nequam, incidit: ita et iste alias quidem bonus et pius, Scottorum gentem ex effrenata barbarie sanguinis avidam, et neque ætati neque sexui, licet eo nolente et frustra prohibente, parcituram, Anglorum immisit provinciæ, dum pro nepte sua olim imperatrice, cujus justam, ut credebat, partem fovebat plus justo æmularetur. At sicut ille per exuberantem Electoris sui gratiam vulnus illud, vel potius vulnera, pia humilitate sanavit; ita etiam[1] iste tanti excessus reatum dignis, ut credimus, pœnitentiæ fructibus expiavit. Itaque non solum in executione piorum operum, verum etiam in actione fructuosæ pœnitentiæ, regiam antiqui David formam novus iste David, rex non barbarus barbaræ gentis, implevit. Notandum etiam quod sicut ille post pœnitentiam, ob prioris peccati meritum divinitus castigatus est per nequissimum filium; ita iste quoque, quamvis longe mitius, per quendam pseudomonachum et episcopum. Quem nimirum ego postmodum apud Bellalandam nostram sæpius vidi, actusque ejus insolentissimos cum casu dignissimo didici. Quæ utique silentio præteriri non debent: ut cognoscant et posteri quomodo in homine illo glorificatus sit, Qui superbis resistit, et humilibus dat gratiam.

1 Reg. xiii 14.

David's reign troubled by Wimund, bishop of the Isles.

Jac. iv. 6.

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[1] *etiam*. B L S; om C.

Cap. XXIV.

De Wimundo episcopo,[1] *et incpiscopali ejus vita, et*[2] *quomodo excæcatus est.*

A.D. 1109–51.

Idem obscurissimo[3] in Anglia loco natus, cum perceptis literarum rudimentis non haberet unde in scholis subsisteret, artis scriptoriæ sciolus, quibusdam[4] religiosis antiquarii officium pro toleranda[5] inopia impendebat. Deinde apud Furnesium tonsoratus et regularem vitam professus, cum nactus esset scripturarum copiam cum otio competenti, adjutus triplici bono, scilicet acri ingenio, illabili memoria, apto eloquio, ita in brevi profecit, ut magnæ spei esse videretur. Evolutis diebus in[6] insulam[7] Man cum fratribus missus, suavitate eloquii et jocunditate faciei, cum esset etiam[8] producto et robusto corpore, ita barbaris placuit ut ab eis in episcopum peteretur, et eorum quidem completum est desiderium. Mox ex successu intumuit, et grandia

Wimund's obscure origin and education. He became a monk in Furness Abbey. The inhabitants of the Isle of Man desired to have him as their bishop.

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[1] The high colouring of this narrative seems to be the only reason for throwing doubt upon it, and there is much to support it in other chronicles. Newburgh obtained his information, see pp. 72 and 75, direct from Wimund himself and one of his followers, and the air of romance was no doubt caught from Wimund's magniloquence. He asserted that he was a son of Angus, the Maarmor of Moray, slain at Stracathro in 1130, and he appears to have been known as Malcolm McHeth. Somerled, thane of Argyle, supported him and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. One of Wimund's sons was with Somerled in that chief's subsequent incursions. See Chron. S. Crucis (Anglia Sacra, i. 161); Fordun, viii. 2; and Wendover (Eng. Hist. Soc. ed., ii. 250). His consecration as bishop of the Isles is recorded by Stubbs (Chron. Pontif. Eccl. Ebor. Twysden, X. Scriptt., col. 1713).

[2] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] As tending to show the relationship between L. and S., it may be noted that both spell this *obscrurissimo*.

[4] *quibusdam*, B.L.S.; *quibus*, C.

[5] S. has here *tole[ra]nda*, but the letters between the brackets are expuncted, and the reading is therefore *tolenda* (*tollenda*). The *date* and authority of corrections by mere dots under certain letters are of course most uncertain. B.C. and L. read *toleranda*.

[6] *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[7] *insulam*, C.L.S.; *insula*, A.B.

[8] *etiam*, B.L.S.; *et*, C.

A.D. 1109–51.

His consecration (between 1109 and 1114).

His pretence of claim to the earldom of Moray.

moliri cœpit. Nec contentus episcopalis dignitate officii, animo jam ambulabat[1] in magnis et mirabilibus super se; eratque ei cum corde vanissimo, os loquens ingentia. Denique congregans viros inopes et audaces, judicium veritatis non veritus, proposuit se esse filium comitis Muravensis,[2] hereditate patrum suorum a rege Scottorum spoliatum, cordi sibi esse non solum jus suum prosequi,[3] sed etiam ulcisci injurias, illos se velle habere periculi et fortunæ consortes, rem quidem esse aliquanti laboris et periculi, sed magnæ claritatis, et plurimi emolumenti.

Ravages the isles of Scotland.

Accensis ergo omnibus, atque in verba ejus jurantibus, per vicinas cœpit insulas ferociter debacchari, eratque jam quasi Nembroth[4] robustus Geo. x. 9. venator coram Domino, dedignatus juxta episcopalis officii debitum hominum esse piscator cum Petro. Matth. iv. 19. Augebatur indies satellitum copiis, inter quos nimirum ipse eminens fere ab humero et sursum, tanquam dux magnus omnium animos accendebat.

Proceeds to invade the mainland.

The king's army unable to force him to fight.

Excurrebat in provincias[5] Scotiæ, rapinis et homicidiis cuncta exterminans. Cumque adversus eum regius exercitus mitteretur, in remotiores se saltus recipiens, vel in oceanum refugiens, omnem illum apparatum bellicum eludebat,[6] et, recedente exercitu, rursum ex locis abditis ad infestandas provincias erumpebat. Cum ergo in omnibus prosperaretur, essetque jam ipsi etiam regi terribilis,

Is met and defeated by a certain bishop.

quidam episcopus vir simplicissimus ejus impetum mirabiliter[7] ad tempus repressit. Cui cum ille bellum denuntians exterminium minaretur, nisi vectigal penderet: "Voluntas," inquit, "Dei fiat,[8] nam meo exemplo

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[1] *ambulabat*, B.L.S.; *ambulavit*, C.

[2] *Muravensis*, A.B.L.S.; *Muraviensis*, C.

[3] *prosequi*, B.S.; *persequi*, C.L.

[4] S. and C. have *Membroth*.

[5] *provincias*, C.L.S.; *provinciis*, A.B.

[6] *eludebat*, B.L.S.; *illudebat*, C.

[7] *ejus impetum mirabiliter*, L.S.; *mirabiliter ejus impetum*, A.B.C.

[8] *inquit, Dei fiat*, L.S.; *Dei, inquit, fiat*, A.B.C. This taken in connection with the similar coincidence in note 7, becomes worthy of notice in settling the relationship of the MSS.

A.D. 1109-51

"nunquam aliquis episcopus alterius episcopi fiet[1] tri-"butarius." Cohortatus[2] ergo populum suum, illi cum furore venienti sola fide major, nam in ceteris longe impar, occurrit, et pro suorum animatione primum ipse belli dans ictum, jactata securi modica, hostem in fronte gradientem Deo volente prostravit. Quo casu confortatus populus, in prædones fortiter irruit,[3] et eorum magna parte cæsa, ducem ferocissimum[4] enervitèr fugere compulit. Solebat autem hoc ipse postea inter amicos cum jocunditate narrare tanquam glorians, quod solus[5] cum Deus per simplicis episcopi fidem vincere potuisset. Ego quoque hoc ipsum, quodam[6] qui de numero satellitum ejus fuerat et cum ceteris qui evasere fugerat, referente cognovi. Resumptis autem viribus per insulas atque provincias Scotiæ debacchabatur[7] ut prius. Quamobrem rex compulsus est placare prædonem, saniori plane usus consilio, ut cum hoste tumido callidoque, cum quo fortiter agi non poterat, sapienter ageretur. Cedens ergo illi quandam provinciam cum monasterio Furnesiensi,[8] excursiones ejus interim suspendit. Cum autem per subditam provinciam tanquam rex vallante exercitu gloriose ferretur, ipsique monasterio, cujus monachus fuerat, supra modum gravis exsisteret, de consensu nobilium insidiati sunt ei quidam provinciales, qui ejus vel potentiam vel insolentiam exosam habebant. Nactique tempus opportunum, cum præmissam ad hospitium multitudinem lento pede et raro stipatus satellite sequeretur, comprehensum vinxerunt, utrumque illi oculum, quia uterque nequam erat, eruerunt, causamque virulenti germinis amputantes, eum pro pace regni

Making head again, the king of Scots is forced to offer him terms.

He is assigned a province which includes Furness Abbey.

Being seized by the country people he is mutilated and blinded.

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[1] *fiet*, C.L.S. ; *fiat*, A.B.

[2] *cohortatus*, C.L.S. ; *coarctatus*, A.B.

[3] *irruit*, B.L.R.S. ; *ruit*, C.

[4] *ferocissimum*, B.C.R.S. ; *fortissimum*, L.

[5] *solus*, C.L.S. ; *solum*, B.

[6] *quodam*, B.L.R.S. ; *a quodam*, C.

[7] *debacchabatur*, C.L.S., and B. by late alteration ; *debacchatus*, R.

[8] *Furnesiensi*, B.L.S. ; *Furnasiensi*, C.

A.D. 1109–51.

Ends his life in Byland Abbey.

Scottorum, non propter regnum cœlorum, castraverunt. Matth. xix. 12. Qui postea Bellalandam nostram venit, ibique annis plurimis usque ad obitum quietus permansit. Fertur tamen tunc etiam[1] dixisse, quia[2] si vel passeris oculum haberet, inimici ejus de actis[3] in eum minime exsultarent.

Cap. XXV.

De Malcolmo[4] *Christianissimo rege Scottorum.*

A.D. 1153.

Malcolm IV. becomes king of Scotland.

His character.

Memorato igitur Scottorum regi David, Malcolmus, major natu nepotum ejus ex filio, nondum pubes successit. Qui venerabilem avum in multis bonis exæquans, in quibusdam etiam gloriose superans, in medio nationis barbaræ et perversæ tanquam sidus cœleste refulsit.[5] Præventus enim a Deo in benedictionibus dulcedinis, ut a tenero superni amoris fervorem conciperet, in tota vita sua candore pudicitiæ, titulo humilitatis et innocentiæ, puritate conscientiæ, morum suavitate pariter et gravitate ita excelluit, ut inter seculares, quibus solo habitu congruebat, monachus, et inter homines, quibus imperabat, terrenus quidam angelus videretur. Mira quidem hæc in rege, et rege gentis tam barbaræ, quam utique Deo cuncta opera ejus dirigente ita regebat, ut propter illa virtutum insignia barbaris non esset despectui, sed potius admirationi et amori: dum per

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[1] In S. the order is *etiam tunc*, but the words are marked for transposition; L. has *tunc etiam tunc*, the last word being expuncted. B. omits *etiam*.

[2] *quia* in A.B.C.L.R.S.: the word is often found in mediæval Latin in place of *quod*. Compare the use of the word in the Vulgate, Epist. Jacob. iv. 4, 5. See also other instances in the present chronicle, *e.g.* on pp. 66, 84, and 161.

[3] *actis*, B.L.R.S.; *actibus*, C.

[4] *Malcolmo*, B.L.S.; *Malcolono*, C.

[5] *cœleste refulsit*, C.L.S.; om. B.

regiam auctoritatem et severitatem[1] improbis et audacibus maximo esset terrori. Non tamen defuere, qui novis motibus intumescentes, vel[2] eum impetendum censerent, vel consueta illi[3] denegarent. Quos nimirum, Deo sibi manifeste cooperante, ita vel contrivit vel domuit, ut omnes deinceps formidarent molesti esse viro cum quo erat Deus. Sed nec defuere illi in[4] ingressu pubertatis quidam immissi a Sathana, qui, cum in seipsis castitatis jacturam pro nihilo ducerent, eum quoque ad carnalis experientiam voluptatis ausu improbo et virulentis suasionibus titillarent. Ille vero, jam sequi Agnum cupiens quocunque iret, sanctæ integritatis zelum toto pectore hauserat, et thesaurum istum in carne fragili, tanquam in vase fictili, caute custodiendum, nullo quidem homine sed Deo tantum intus docente, sciebat, indecoras coævorum, vel etiam eorum quos loco magistrorum colebat,[5] suasiones primo contempsit, ac deinde, cum nondum quiescerent, voce et vultu cum quadam auctoritate ita repressit, ut eorum nullus de cetero talia illi auderet ingerere. At in his repulsus hostis stimulante invidia non quiescit, fortiores contra puerum Dei insidias struit. Matrem adornat, quæ illi virus occultum tanquam consilium maternæ pietatis insibilet, et non solum blandiendo alliciat, sed etiam imperiis urgeat; regem, non monachum esse moneat, ætati et corpori ejus amplexus puellares[6] maxime congruere doceat. Matris importunitate vinctus magis quam victus, assentiri visus est ne contristaret parentem. Læta illa cubantis jam filii lecto assistens, virginem speciosam et nobilem ad latus non obluctantis collocavit. Ille egredientibus consciis secretum nactus, et caritatis magis quam carnis igne succensus, illico surrexit, et cubile regium toto noctis spatio virgini cedens, opertus pallio in pavimento dormivit. Eo mane a cubiculariis

A.D. 1153.

Apocal. xiv. 4.

Story showing the young king's purity of morals.

[1] *severitatem*, C.L.S.; *securitatem*, B.

[2] C. omits *vel*.

[3] *illi* B.L.S.; *ei*, C.

[4] *in*, B.L.R.S.; om. A.C.

[5] *indecoras . . colebat*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[6] *puellaris* in L. and S.

A.D. 1153. sic invento, et consecuto virginis testimonio, utriusque declarata est virginitas. Matrem postea, vel objurgare vel blandiri adjicientem, quadam constantis animi auctoritate compescuit, ut super hoc audendum ulterius non putaret. Dicant quod voluerint[1] veneratores[2] signorum, ex miris merita metientes, et ex sola signorum claritate sanctitatis titulum[3] tribuentes; plane ego illud[4] in rege juvenculo, sic impugnatæ sed inexpugnatæ integritatis, miraculum præferendum censeo non solum illuminationi cæcorum, sed etiam suscitationi mortuorum.[5]

Cap. XXVI.

De[6] institutione Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et restitutione Wilelmi Eboracensis, et de morte ejus.

Death of William de St. Barbe, bishop of Durham (Nov. 24, 1152). Succeeded by Hugh Puiset.

Ut autem a Scotia paululum regrediar: defuncto Wilelmo de Sancta Barbara Dunelmensi[7] episcopo viro religioso, Hugo Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurarius propter nobilitatem generis, erat enim propinquus regis Stephani, ad pontificatum Dunelmensis[8] ecclesiæ electus est, venerabili Henrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo, ad quem Dunelmensis[8] episcopi spectabat consecratio, plurimum obnitente, atque obtendente et minus canonicam electi ætatem, et minus probatam morum ejus gravitatem. Ascenderunt ergo majores

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[1] *voluerint*, B.C.S.; *voluerunt*, L.

[2] *veneratores*, B.L.S.; *venatores*, C.

[3] *titulum*, B.L.R.S.; *titulum illud*, C., the latter word having been merely misplaced, see *note* 4.

[4] *illud*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[5] It appears, however, from a grant made by Malcolm IV. to the Abbey of Kelso (*Char. Kelso*, fol. 16. b) that he had a natural son: "*præcipio etiam ut prædicta ecclesia de Innerlethan, in qua prima nocte corpus filii mei post obitum suum quievit,*" &c. . . . *See* Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes), "Annals of Scotland," p. 110.

[6] B. omits the rubric.

[7] *Dunelmensi*, B.C.S.; *Dulmensi*, L.; *Dunelnensi*, B.

[8] In each place L. has *Dulmensis*.

ex electoribus cum ipso electo ad sedem Apostolicam pro negotio tam electionis quam consecrationis, jam dicto archiepiscopo pro se responsalem mittente, qui et electioni contrairet, et consecrationem impediret. Sed venerabili Eugenio, qui ejusdem archiepiscopi apud Clarevallem condiscipulus fuerat, ex hac luce paulo ante subtracto, invenerunt Anastasium sedi Apostolicæ præsidentem. Tres quippe viri memorabiles, et in vita sua amicissimi, tempore illo decedentes, in morte quoque brevibus sunt intervallis separati, scilicet Eugenius papa Romanus, Bernardus Clarevallis abbas, Henricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus. E quibus Eugenio et Bernardo prius assumptis, Henricus e vestigio secutus est. Vulgato autem duorum transitu, tertio adhuc superstite, Wilelmus olim Eboracensis archiepiscopus, qui Wintoniæ[1] morabatur, spe recuperationis concepta, nam prior eum deposuerat, secundus ut deponeretur egerat, tertius deposito successerat, sedem Apostolicam celeriter adiit; judicium non accusans, misericordiam humiliter postulavit. Et ecce certus ex Anglia de transitu Eboracensis archiepiscopi nuntius superveniens, verecundissimas ejus preces multum adjuvit. Et quidem Dunelmensis[2] electus, qui prior illuc venerat, a domino papa sollemniter consecratus, illius qui posterior advenerat pendente adhuc fortuna, discessit. Sed tandem et ipse, prioris judicii rigore sublato, Apostolicæ mansuetudinis clementiam expertus est, miserante canos ejus papa cum cardinalibus, et satagente circa ejus negotium maxime quodam Gregorio magni nominis cardinali, homine facundissimo et profundissimæ astutiæ, atque animi vere Romani. Itaque in[3] integrum restitutus, et pallio, quod nunquam eatenus impetrare

A.D. 1153.

Henry Archbishop of York objects to consecrate him and both appeal. Eugenius, the archbishop's comrade at Clairvaux, having died, Anastasius (elected July 9, 1153) is found to be on the papal throne.

William, who had been deprived of the see of York by Eugenius, hearing of his death goes to Rome. While there news of Archbishop Henry's death (Oct. 14, 1153) is received.

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[1] *Wintoniæ*, B.C.S.; *Wintoniam*, L.

[2] L. for the fourth time in this chapter has *Dulmensis*, but here corrects the error.

[3] *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1153. poterat, insignitus, Sabbato sancto Wintoniam rediit, ibique celebrata sollemnitate Paschali, post Albas ad civitatem propriam properavit. Occurrerunt autem ei extra civitatem minus pacifice Robertus, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, et Osbertus archidiaconus, qui, ut eum a desiderata sede arcerent, propositis capitulis adversus eum fortiter appellarunt. Ille nihilominus progrediens, sollemni[1] occursu et ingenti applausu a clero et populo susceptus est. Prænominati vero ejus[2] adversarii Theobaldum[3] Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, Apostolicas tunc in Anglia vices agentem, concite adeuntes, ejusdem favore et suffragiis utebantur. Porro ille receptam non multo post Albas Paschales ecclesiam decenti moderamine regens, et ingenita lenitate nulli onerosus exsistens, paucis post Pentecosten evolutis diebus febre corripitur, et rapitur[4] ex hac vita, ingenti tam clericis quam[5] laicis ex mitissimi pastoris occasu luctu relicto. Sane propter inopinatum ejus transitum a multis creditur veneno exstinctus, asserentibus[6] eum ex sacro calice, per quendam ab[7] adversariis ejus[8] immissum vel pro eis æmulantem infecto,[9] potum mortiferum, quod dictu[10] horrendum est, cum potu vitæ hausisse. At hoc mera quorundam opinio est, quam tamen[11] petulanter velut perspicuam veritatem sparserunt in vul-

The bishop of Durham is consecrated (20 Dec. 1153).

Archbishop William is restored, and returning to Winchester on April 4, he proceeds to York, after April 11, 1154.

His death (June 8, 1154).

A rumour spreads that he died of poison in the sacred chalice.

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[1] *sollemni*, B.L.S.; *et rapitur sollemni*, C. The words are caught up from the passage below, "*et rapitur* "ex hac vita."

[2] *ejus*, L.S.; om. A.B.C.

[3] *Theobaldum*, B.L.S.; *Theothbaldum*, C.

[4] *et rapitur*, B.L.S.; om. C., these words are perhaps too distant from the passage, which in C. (*see* note 1, above) stands, "*illi nihilo-* "*minus progrediens* [et rapitur] "*sollemni*," for the wrong placing to be due to error either of eye or ear on the part of a scribe copying or being dictated to from a fairly written MS. Was C. derived from the author's rough draft?

[5] *quam*, C.L.S.; *tam*, A.B.

[6] *asserentibus*, B.L.R.S.; *asserentes*, C.

[7] *ab*, L R.S.; om. B.; *ex*, A.C.

[8] *ejus*, C.; om. A.B.L.S.

[9] *infecto*, C.L.S.; *infectum*, A., and B. by late alteration.

[10] C. has *dictum*.

[11] *tamen*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.

gus. Denique ego processu temporis, cum fama ista crebresceret, quendam virum magnum et grandævum, Rievallis monasterii monachum, jam valetudinarium et morti vicinum, qui eo tempore Eboracensis ecclesiæ canonicus et memorato archiepiscopo familiaris exstiterat, super hoc cum adjurationibus percunctandum putavi. Qui constanter respondit, hoc esse mendacissimum conceptæ a quibusdam opinionis commentum: se quippe, cum scelus illud attentatum dicitur, præsentem atque archiepiscopo assistentem fuisse; nullo modo malignum quemquam inter circumstantes fidelissimos ad aliquid tale[1] audendum irrepere potuisse. Illud quoque falsum est quod dicunt eum amicis suadentibus antidotum gustare noluisse, cum ab eis hostilis malitia in eum aliquid ausa putaretur; et ad hoc suum vel opinabile vel commentum firmandum ferunt[2] eum dixisse, quod cœlesti antidoto non adjiceret humanum. Quod utique quia vir sapiens fuit, et Deum non esse tentandum divina auctoritate edoctus, nec dixisse nec egisse credendus[3] est. Ad hoc Simphorianum[4] familiarem clericum ejus, qui in ejus obsequio non parvo tempore fuerat, et ægrotanti devotus minister astiterat, audivi dicentem, quod amicis suadentibus antidotum sumpserit, quod utique vir sapiens fecisse credendus est. Ab eodem quoque[5] audivi, amicos qui aderant ob hoc maxime ad putandum quod mortiferum quid biberit fuisse proclives, quia dentes ejus, qui candidi fuerant, in extremo illo incommodo nigrescere cœperant. At hoc ridetur a medicis, cum dentes hominis morituri[6] passim nigrescere soleant. Porro Eboracensis archiepiscopi morte comperta, Robertus decanus et Osbertus archidiaco-

A.D. 1151

The author adduces personal testimony against the story.

[1] *tale*, B.C.S.; om. L.
[2] *ferunt*, B.C.L.S.; *fertur*, R.
[3] *credendus*, B.L.S.; *credendum*, C.
[4] *Simphorianum*, C.L.S.; *Siphorianum*, originally, B.
[5] *quoque*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[6] *morituri*, B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1154. nus, annitente et cooperante Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Apostolicæ sedis legato, Rogerium[1] ejusdem archidiaconum ad Eboracensis ecclesiæ cathedram elegerunt, magnisque[2] suffragiis atque terroribus Eboracense capitulum ad consentiendum induxerunt. Et de hoc quidem[3] plenius suo loco dicemus.

Roger de Pont l'Evêque succeeds him (consecrated Oct. 10, 1154).

Cap. XXVII.

De viridibus pueris.

Story of the green children.

Nec prætereundum videtur inauditum a seculis prodigium, quod sub rege Stephano in Anglia noscitur evenisse. Et quidem diu super hoc, cum tamen a multis prædicaretur, hæsitavi; remque vel nullius vel abditissimæ rationis in fidem recipere ridiculum mihi videbatur: donec tantorum et talium pondere testium ita sum obrutus, ut cogerer credere et mirari, quod nullis animi viribus possum[4] attingere vel rimari.

Vicus est in Estanglia quatuor vel quinque, ut dicitur, milliariis distans a nobili monasterio beati regis et martyris Edmundi.[5] Juxta quem vicum quædam antiquissimæ fossæ visuntur, quæ sermone Anglico *Wlfpittes*,[6] id est, luporum fossæ, dicuntur, et vico

[1] *Rogerium*, C.L.S.; *Rogerum*, B.

[2] *magnisque*, B.C.R.S.; *magnis et*, L.

[3] *quidem*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[4] *possum*, B.L.S.; *possim*, A.C.

[5] *Edmundi*, B.L.S.; *Eadmundi*, C.

[6] *Wlfpittes*, B.L.S.; *Wfpittes*, C. Ralph of Coggeshall (Rolls' ed. p. 118) gives this story from the information furnished to him by Sir Richard de Calne, into whose house the children were received He apparently places it under the reign of Henry II., and introduces the tale with the words, "aliud quoque mirum, priori non "dissimile, in Sutfolke contigit "apud Sanctam Mariam de Wul"petes." The name of this place occurs three times in the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond (Camden S. ed. pp. 35, 36, 46), as *Wlpit*. It is of course Woolpit, near Bury St. Edmunds.

cui adjacent suum nomen indulgent. Ex his fossis tempore messis, et occupatis circa frugum collectionem per agros messoribus, emerserunt duo pueri, masculus et femina, toto corpore virides, et coloris insoliti, ex incognita materia veste operti. Cumque per agrum attoniti oberrarent, comprehensi a messoribus ducti sunt in vicum, multisque confluentibus ad tantæ novitatis spectaculum, per dies aliquot tenti sunt cibi expertes. Cum ergo inedia jam pæne deficerent, nec tamen aliquid ciborum, qui offerebantur, attenderent, forte ex agro contigit fabas inferri, quas illico arripientes, legumen ipsum in thyrsis quæsierunt, et nihil in concavitate thyrsorum invenientes, amare fleverunt. Tunc quidam eorum [1] qui aderant, legumen ex corticibus erutum porrexit [2] eis, quod statim libenter [3] acceptum comederunt. Hoc cibo aliti sunt per menses aliquot, quousque usum panis noverunt. Denique colorem proprium, ciborum nostrorum prævalente natura, paulatim mutantes, et similes nobis effecti, nostri quoque sermonis usum didicerunt. Visumque est prudentibus, ut sacri baptismatis perciperent sacramentum, quod et factum est. Sed puer, qui minor [4] natu videbatur, post baptismum brevi vivens tempore immatura morte decessit, sorore incolumi permanente, et nec in modico a nostri generis feminis discrepante. Quæ nimirum postea apud Lennam, ut dicitur, duxit maritum,[5] et ante annos paucos superstes esse dicebatur.[6] Sane cum jam nostræ usum loquelæ haberent, interrogati qui et unde essent, respondisse feruntur: "Homines de terra Sancti Martini, qui scilicet in "terra nativitatis nostræ præcipuæ venerationi habe-"tur." Consequenter interrogati, ubinam esset terra

A.D. 1135–54.

[1] *eorum*, B.L.S.; *illorum*, C.

[2] S. here, by correction from *porrexerunt*, reads *porrexerit*.

[3] *libenter acceptum*, B.L.S.; *acceptum libenter*, C.

[4] *minor*, B.C.S.; *prior*, L; *junior*, R.

[5] *duxit maritum*, B.C.L.S.

[6] *dicebatur*, B.L.R.S.; *videbatur*, C.

A.D. 1135–54. illa, et quomodo exinde huc advenissent; "Utrumque," inquiunt, "nescimus. Hoc tantum meminimus; quia[1] "cum quodam die pecora patris nostri in agro pas- "ceremus, sonitum quendam magnum audivimus, "qualem nunc apud Sanctum Edmundum, cum signa "concrepare dicuntur, audire solemus. Cumque in "sonitum illum quem admirabamur animo intendere- "mus, repente, tanquam in quodam mentis excessu "positi, invenimus nos inter vos in agro ubi mete- "batis." Interrogati utrum ibidem vel in Christum crederetur, vel sol oriretur,[2] terram illam Christianam esse, et ecclesias habere dixerunt. "Sed sol," inquiunt, "apud nostrates non oritur: cujus radiis terra nostra "minime illustratur, illius claritatis modulo contenta, "quæ apud vos solem vel[3] orientem præcedit vel "sequitur occidentem. Porro terra quædam lucida non "longe a terra nostra aspicitur, amne largissimo "utramque dirimente." Hæc et multa alia, quæ retexere longum est, curiose percunctantibus respondisse feruntur. Dicat quisque quod voluerit, et ratiocinetur de his ut poterit; me autem prodigiosum mirabilemque eventum exposuisse non piget.

Cap. XXVIII.

De quibusdam prodigiosis.[4]

Various marvels. Alia quoque æque mira et prodigiosa nostris temporibus contigerunt, ex quibus pauca retexam. Mira vero hujusmodi[5] dicimus, non tantum[6] propter rari-

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[1] *quia*, B.C.L.S.; see note 2 on p. 76 as to the mediæval use of *quia* in place of *quod*.

[2] *oriretur*, A.C.L.S.; *orietur*, B.

[3] *vel*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[4] *prodigiosis*, B.L.S.; *prodigiis*, C.

[5] *hujusmodi*, B.L.S.; *hujuscemodi*, C.

[6] *tantum* B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1135–54.

tatem, sed etiam quia occultam habent rationem. Dum in lapidicina quadam petra ingens ferramentis finderetur, apparuere duo canes, capacem sui in eadem petra concavitatem replentes absque omni spiraculo. Videbantur autem esse ex eo canum genere quos leporarios vocant, sed vultu truces, odore graves, pilorum expertes. Et unus quidem eorum, ut dicitur, cito defecit: alterum vero stupendæ, ut aiunt, edacitatis Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus diebus plurimis in[1] deliciis habuit. Refertur[2] etiam quod in alia lapidicina, dum pro eruendis fabricæ necessariis lapidibus altius foderetur, repertus sit[3] lapis formosus duplex, id est, ex duobus subtili agglutinatione compactus lapidibus. Mirantibus operariis, episcopo, qui non longe aberat, exhibitus, designari jussus est ut innotesceret, si quid in eo lateret mysterii. Inventaque[4] est in ejus concavitate bestiola, quam bufonem vocant, cathenulam auream circa collum habens. Cunctis ergo, qui aderant, tam inusitatæ rei stupore suspensis, præcepit episcopus iterum signari lapidem, et lapidicinæ altitudini redditum ruderibus in perpetuum operiri.

Two dogs found in a hollow in a block of stone.

In another quarry a joined stone is found to contain a toad with a gold chain round its neck.

In provincia quoque Deirorum, haud procul a loco nativitatis meæ, res mirabilis contigit, quam a puero cognovi. Est vicus aliquot a mari orientali[5] milliariis distans, juxta quem famosæ illæ aquæ, quas vulgo *Gipse*[6] vocant, numerosa scaturigine e terra prosiliunt, non quidem jugiter, sed annis interpositis, et, facto torrente non modico, per loca humiliora in mare labuntur; quæ quidem cum siccantur signum bonum est, nam earum fluxus futuræ famis incommodum non fallaciter portendere dicitur. Ex hoc vico rusticus

Intermittent springs at a village in Yorkshire.

[1] *in*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *refertur*, B.L.R.S.; *referunt*, C.

[3] *sit*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[4] *inventaque*, B.L.S.; *inventa*, C.

[5] *orientale*, in B.

[6] The village of Wold Newton, eight miles from Bridlington, has a large mere principally supplied by the "Gipseys,"—streams of water which appear after intervals of two or three years and disappear after two or three months (Allen, Hist. of county of York, vol. ii. p. 330).

A.D. 1100–1135.

Legend about a rustic who interrupts a supernatural banquet and carries off a cup which becomes the property of Henry I.

quidam ad salutandum amicum in proximo vico commorantem profectus, multa jam nocte minus sobrius remeabat. Et ecce, de proximo tumulo quem sæpius vidi, et duobus vel tribus stadiis a vico abest, voces cantantium, et quasi festive convivantium audivit. Miratus quinam in loco[1] illo sollemnibus gaudiis intempestæ noctis silentium rumperent, hoc ipsum curiosius[2] inspicere voluit, vidensque in latere tumuli januam patentem, accessit et introspexit, viditque domum amplam, et luminosam, plenamque discumbentibus, tam viris quam feminis, tanquam ad sollemnes epulas. Unus autem ministrantium aspiciens stantem ad ostium, obtulit ei poculum. Quo ille accepto consulte noluit bibere, sed effuso contento et continente retento concitus abiit; factoque tumultu in convivio pro sublatione vasculi, et persequentibus eum convivis, pernicitate jumenti quo vehebatur evasit, et in vicum cum insigni se præda recepit. Denique hoc vasculum[3] materiæ incognitæ, coloris insoliti, et formæ inusitatæ, Henrico seniori Anglorum regi pro magno munere oblatum est, ac deinde fratri reginæ, David scilicet regi Scottorum, contraditum, annis plurimis in thesauris Scotiæ servatum est: et ante annos aliquot, sicut veraci relatione cognovimus, Henrico secundo illud aspicere cupienti a rege[4] Scottorum Willelmo resignatum est.[5]

The author's remarks on the foregoing matters.

Hæc et hujusmodi incredibilia viderentur, nisi a dignis fide testibus contigisse probarentur. Si autem potuerunt Magi per incantationes, ut scriptum est, Ægyptiacas et arcana quædam,[6] operatione utique malorum angelorum, virgas convertere in dracones, et aquam in sanguinem, novas quoque ranas producere, quos tamen, ut ait Augustinus, creatores draconum vel ranarum

De Trin., iii. 8.

[1] *in loco*, L.S.; *loco in*, A.C.B.

[2] *curiosius*, C.L.S.; *curiosus*, B.

[3] Mr. Hamilton refers to the similar Scandinavian "Troll" story of the "Altar-cup in Aagerup" quoted in Keightley's "Fairy Mythology," pp. 109–11.

[4] *a rege*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[5] *est*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *quædam*, C.L.S.; *quidem*, A.; *quidam* originally in B

non dicimus, sicut nec agricolas segetum; aliud est enim, ex intimo et summo causarum cardine condere atque administrare creaturam, quod qui facit solus est creator[1] Deus, aliud autem pro distributis ab Illo[2] viribus et facultatibus aliquam operationem forinsecus admovere, ut tunc vel tunc, sic vel sic exeat quod creatur, quod[3] non solum mali angeli, sed etiam mali homines possunt; si, inquam, mali angeli per[4] Magos, Deo permittente, ea potuere, non est mirum si[5] et illa, de quibus nunc quæritur, quadam angelicæ naturæ potentia, si a superiori potestate permittantur, partim præstigialiter et fantastice, ut illud in tumulo nocturnum convivium, partim etiam in[6] veritate, ut vel illos canes, vel bufonem illum cum cathenula[7] aurea, seu scyphum illum valeant exhibere, in quibus homines stupore inutili teneantur; qui nimirum mali angeli libentius faciunt, cum permittuntur, in quibus homines perniciose fallantur. Porro puerorum illorum viridium, qui de terra emersisse dicuntur, abstrusior ratio est, quam utique nostri sensus tenuitas non sufficit indagare. A.D. 1100–1154.

Cap. XXIX.

De successibus Henrici secundi in Anglia tempore ducatus sui. A.D. 1149.

Ut autem jam ad seriem historicæ narrationis redeam, Henricus Matildis olim imperatricis ex[8] illustri Andegavensi comite filius, accepto, ut superius dictum

Prince Henry having been knighted returns to Anjou.

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[1] *facit solus est creator*, L. and S., except that L. has *fecit*; *facit solus creator est Deus*, B.C.

[2] *illo*, B.L.S.; *eo*, C.

[3] The passage *quod . . magos* is in B. (except as below) and in L. and S.; but in C. it runs *quod non solum mali angeli possunt si inquam per Magos*, the words *possunt si inquam* being in the margin. R. agrees in the main with S. here.

[4] *per*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[5] *si*, L.S.; *sed*, A.B.C.; A. and B. have *sed* for *si* also in the line above.

[6] *etiam in*, A.B.C.R.; *in*, L.S.

[7] *cathenula*, B.L.R.S.; *cathena*, C.

[8] *ex*, B.L.S.; *et*, C.

A.D. 1151. est, a matris avunculo rege Scottorum cingulo militari, transfretavit, et venit ad patrem; eratque de cetero in obsequio ejus, prudentiæ et fortitudinis præclaram indolem præferens, et militaris gloriæ non tepidus æmulator exsistens. Post annos vero aliquot, patre in fata concedente, paterni juris plenitudinem, id est, Andegavensem simul et Cinomannensem[1] comitatum, et materni juris expeditam portionem, id est, Normanniæ ducatum, recepit. Nam regno Angliæ, quod ad jus æque[2] spectabat maternum, rex Stephanus quamvis remisse et languide, ut superius expositum est, catenus incubabat. Itaque patri succedens, et patrem in brevi vel æquans vel etiam excedens, quocunque se vertisset, industrius strenuusque apparuit, ita ut jam illis formidabilis exsisteret, qui felicibus ejus initiis invidebant. Cumque in partibus transmarinis omnia illi quieta jam essent, regno Angliæ, quod jure sibi perspicuo competebat, fraudari non ulterius patiens, tam difficili et periculoso negotio animum intendit. Metuens autem ne qua post egressum suum in Normanniam fieret irruptio a rege Francorum, cujus rex Stephanus affinitate gaudebat, nam sororem ejus jampridem filio suo Eustachio uxorem acceperat, fines suos præsidiis opportune dispositis cautius credidit muniendos. Unde factum est ut parvam secum manum in Angliam duceret, reputans terris transmarinis, quas quieto jam jure possidebat, parum esse consultum si copias abduceret[3] militares, necessaria sibi præsidia in Anglia minime defutura: si secus, certa incertis inconsulte postponi. Denique non amplius, ut dicitur, quam centum quadraginta equites et peditum tria millia in Angliam cum eo venerunt.

Geoffrey of Anjou dies (Sept. 7, 1151) and is succeeded by Henry in all his possessions including Normandy.

Henry garrisons his Norman castles, and sails for England with his remaining small band of followers (Jan. 6, 1153).

[1] *Cinomannensem*, B.C.S.; *Cinomannem*, L.

[2] *æque*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *abduceret*, S. by an evident alteration from *adduceret*; *adduceret*, B.C.L.

Adventu[1] ejus cognito, ferventibus ad eum animis convenerunt qui matri ejus ab initio faverant. Auctus illico ingentibus copiis, munitionem Malmesbiriensem, ubi regis Stephani præsidium erat,[2] obsedit. Tunc idem rex convocatis celeriter qui a se non defecerant, cum Eustachio[3] filio, acerrimo juvene, ocius advolans, hostem ad prœlium provocavit. At ille in castris se continens, et campi discrimen pro tempore consulte declinans, eo quod manum imparem habere videretur; hostili ferociæ copiam pugnæ non fecit. Rex vero cum neque hostem commode posset[4] impetere, neque prolixiores circa castra hostilia excubias agere tutum videretur, otiose recessit, et obsessa munitio in potestatem obsidentis concessit. Augebatur idem indies et militiæ numeris et favoribus sociorum, deficientibus ad eum paulatim qui hostilium partium fuerant regni optimatibus; ita ut jam incrementis virium et felicitate successuum ducis gloria, sic enim vocabatur, adversarii nomen regium adumbraret. Stanfordiam cum instructo exercitu adiit; qua celeriter[5] expugnata et capta, munitionem quoque, ejecto præsidio regio, post aliquot dies obtinuit. Audiens autem Gipeswic,[6] quæ ad ejus se[7] partes transtulerat, obsideri a rege, ut hoste propulsato obsidionem solveret, ad Orientalium Anglorum provinciam cum exercitu properabat; sed, accepto post modicum[8] de ejusdem loci deditione nuntio, divertit et irruit super Notingeham,[9] quæ sita est super fluvium Trentam. Qua mox expugnata atque opibus vacuata, recessit, oppugnandæ

A.D. 1153.

His mother's partisans flock to him.

He besieges Malmesbury.

The king hastens to the relief, but withdraws without a battle.

Malmesbury is taken.

Prince Henry captures Stamford.

Ipswich, which had declared for him, being besieged he hastens thither, but news of its surrender

[1] Gervase supplies the date very precisely "in initio mensis Januarii, die scilicet Dominicæ Apparitionis." (Rolls' ed. p. 151).

[2] *erat*, B.L.S.; *fuerat*, C.

[3] C. has *Euchachio*.

[4] *posset*, B.L.R.S.; *potuisset*, C.

[5] *celeriter*, B.L.R.S.; *celerius*, by alteration, C.

[6] *Gipeswic*, L.S.; *Gipeswyck*, B.; *Gypeswic*, C.

[7] *se*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[8] *post modicum*, B.L.R.S.; *postmodum*, C.

[9] *Notingeham*, C.L.S.; *Notingham*, B.

A.D. 1153. munitionis, quæ natura loci inexpugnabilis videbatur, operam inanem omittens. Inde ad alia conversus negotia, tanquam favore sibi arridente divino in omnibus prosperabatur.

coming, he turns and captures Nottingham.

Cap. XXX.

De concordia inter regem Stephanum et ducem Henricum celebrata.

A.D. 1153.

Death of Prince Eustace (Aug. 18).

Dum hæc sub eventu pendulo inter regem et ducem altercatio traheretur, Eustachius ejusdem regis filius juvenis clarissimus immatura, secundum voluntatem Dei, morte decessit, magnam seminandæ inter principes pacis occasionem sui de medio ablatione relinquens. Eo quippe superstite partes concordia mediante componi atque uniri minime potuissent, tum propter juvenilem ejusdem acrimoniam, tum propter ejus præclaram quandam ex affinitate regis Francorum fiduciam. Utroque autem pacis impedimento per unius hominis mortem sublato, quod Deo propitio[1] provenisse creditur; eo quod jam super Angliam intestinis malis exsanguem et sauciam cogitaret cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis; viri pacifici de pace suadenda atque formanda propensius cogitare cœperunt.[2] Occasu quippe filii, qui successurus sperabatur, supra modum exulceratus pater, ad apparatus bellicos pigrius movebatur, et voces suadentium pacem solito patientius audiebat. Duce quoque prudentum consiliis[3] ad[4] hoc inclinato, ut honesto et solido fœderi postponeret casus ambiguos, placuit inter eos sollemne et salubre colloquium celebrari. Ubi amicis medi-

Eustace and his wife, the principal obstacles to peace, being removed, negotiations commence.

Jerem. xxix. 11.

Stephen and prince Henry hold a conference.

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[1] *propitio*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.
[2] *cæperunt*. B.L.S.; *cæperant*, C.
[3] L. has here *consilium*.
[4] *ad*, B.L.S.; *ab*, C.

antibus et circa bonum publicum pia et prudenti provisione satagentibus, pax inter eos et[1] caute formata, et solide firmata[2] est.[3] Decretumque est, ut Stephanus de cetero tanquam princeps legitimus integre in Anglia cum gloria et honore regnaret; Henricus vero ei tanquam heres legitimus in regno succederet. Hanc pacis formam tanquam utilem et honestam princeps uterque amplexus, abolitis omnibus quæ[4] inter eos hactenus hostiliter acta fuerant, atque omni simultate perpetuæ tradita sepulturæ, in mutuos, multis præ gaudio lacrimantibus, se dederunt amplexus. Et rex quidem ducem adoptans in filium, eum sollemniter successorem proprium declaravit. Dux vero regem tanquam patrem et dominum in conspectu omnium honoravit. Wilelmus autem regis filius junior jubente patre duci hominium fecit; dux quoque illi pactis interpositis satisfecit. Quibus Deo propitio salubriter actis, rex Angliam et Anglia pacem recepit. Annis enim jam plurimis fere nudo regis nomine insignis, tunc recipere visus est hujus rem nominis, et quasi tunc primo regnare cœpit: quia tunc primo,[5] purgata invasionis tyrannicæ macula, legitimi principis justitiam induit. Dux autem in Anglia post firmatæ pacis sollemnia modico tempore commoratus, transfretare parabat, et rex cum Wilelmo filio multisque aliis nobilibus celebri lætitia prosequebatur abeuntem. Cumque idem regius puer in oculis patris equo, ut assolet, concitatius veheretur, contigit equo cadente sessorem ad terram graviter allidi, fractoque osse tibiæ resurgere impotens, patri et omnibus qui aderant dolorem incussit. Reportatus ergo est Cantuariam, ut ibi curaretur. Rex vero

A.D. 1153.

Terms of peace settled (Nov. 7).

Henry returns to Normandy (after Easter, 1154).

Accident to Stephen's son William.

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[1] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *et . . . firmata*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] This document is given by Brompton (Twysden's Decem Scriptores, col. 1037).

[4] *quæ*, B.L.S.; *qui*, C.

[5] *regnare . . . primo*, B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1154. sinistro casu saucius, datis cum benedictione mandatis, ducem dimisit; qui feliciter transfretans circa æstatis initium ad propria cum gaudio remeavit.

Cap. XXXI.

De divortio inter regem Francorum et uxorem ejus celebrato, et quomodo ipsa nupserit futuro regi Anglorum.[1]

A.D. 1152.

Divorce of Louis VII. from Eleanor of Aquitaine (March 18).

Iisdem fere diebus[2] inter Lodovicum[3] Francorum regem et Alienorem[4] reginam divortium celebratum est, quibusdam episcopis atque[5] proceribus consanguinitatem illorum sub testificatione jurisjurandi sollemniter allegantibus. Eadem sane regina, ducis Aquitanici soboles unica,[6] ante expeditionem Ierosolymitanam, de qua superius dictum est, memorato regi nupserat, suoque conjugio amplissimum illum ducatum Aquitaniæ regno Franciæ junxerat. Quæ nimirum ita sibi in principio juvenis animum formæ suæ venustate præstrictum devinxerat, ut illius famosissimæ[7] expeditionis iter arrepturus, dum uxorem juvenculam vehementius æmulatur, eam nequaquam domi esse relinquendam, sed secum ad prœlia proficisci decerneret. Quod exemplum secuti multi alii nobiles uxores suas secum duxerunt: quibus cum cubiculariæ deesse non possent,

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[1] *et quomodo . . . Anglorum*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[2] A somewhat misleading expression. The events at the end of the last chapter happened in 1154, while the divorce was in March and Eleanor's second marriage in May 1152.

[3] *Lodovicum*, B.C.S.; *Lodowicum*, L.

[4] *Alienorem*, L.S.; *Alianorem*, B.C.

[5] *atque*, B.L.R.S.; *et*, C.

[6] Bouquet (vol. xiii. p. 101, note *a*) corrects this passage: "non unica "patris soboles erat Alienora, "quippe quæ sororem habebat "Petronillam Radulpho Viromandensi comiti nuptam."

[7] *famosissimæ*, B.C.S.; *formosissimæ*, L.

in castris illis Christianis, quæ casta esse oportebat, feminarum multitudo versabatur. Quod utique factum est exercitui nostro in scandalum, ut superius ostensum est. Cumque idem rex ab oriente una cum conjuge, non sine infecti negotii dedecore, ad propria fuisset reversus, amore pristino inter eos paulatim refrigescente, causæ quoque discidii[1] succrescere cœperunt; illa maxime moribus regiis offensa, et causante se monacho non regi nupsisse. Dicitur etiam, quod in ipso regis Francorum conjugio ad ducis Normannici nuptias, suis magis moribus congruas, aspiraverit, atque ideo præoptaverit procuraveritque discidium. Itaque causis ingravescentibus, et illa quidem, ut dicitur, multum instante, illo vero vel non vel remissius obluctante, per ecclesiasticæ legis vigorem solutum est inter eos vinculum copulæ conjugalis. Porro illa soluta a lege viri, et habens potestatem cui vellet nubendi, duabus apud patrem filiabus relictis, quæ postea duobus illustrissimi comitis Teobaldi[2] filiis, Henrico scilicet et Teobaldo,[2] paterna provisione nupserunt, desideratis tandem potita est nuptiis.[3] Denique convenientes dux Normanniæ[4] et illa loco condicto, pactum conjugale[5] inierunt, minus quidem sollemniter ratione personarum, sed cautiori providentia, ne quid scilicet impedimenti pareret sollemnis præparatio nuptiarum. Mox ducatus Aquitaniæ, qui a finibus Andegavensium et Britonum ad Pyrenæos usque[6] montes, Galliam Hispaniamque dirimentes, extenditur,[7] Francorum se[8] ditioni paulatim[9] subducens ratione conjugis in ducis Normannici

A.D. 1152.

Prince Henry is married to Eleanor (May, 1152).

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[1] *discidii*, L.S.; *discidiis*, C. and, originally, B.

[2] *Teobaldi*, and *Teobaldo*, S.; *Theobaldi*, *&c.*, B.C.L.

[3] *est nuptiis*, C.L.S.; *est ducis Normanniæ nuptiis*, A.B.

[4] *dux Normanniæ*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *conjugale*, B.C.; *conjugalem*, L.S.

[6] *usque*, B.S.; *usque ad*, C. and L. originally.

[7] *extenditur*, C.L.S.; *paulatim extenditur*, A.B.

[8] *se*, C.L.S.; om. A. and, by erasure, B.

[9] *paulatim*, C.L.S.; here omitted by A.B. (*see* note 7.)

A.D. 1152. potestatem transivit; Francis quidem invidia tabescentibus, sed impedire non valentibus ejusdem ducis provectum.

Cap. XXXII.

De concilio Lundoniensi, et morte regis Stephani.

A.D. 1154.

Stephen's royal progress to the North.

Destruction of the adulterine castles.

Philip de Coleville holds the castle of Drake, but is speedily overcome.

The king returns southward towards Michaelmas.

Council at London.

Interea rex Stephanus fastu regio fines Angliæ lustrans, et se tanquam regem novum ostentans, suscipiebatur ab omnibus et decenti magnificentia colebatur, et incendebantur ante faciem ejus, et quodammodo liquefiebant sicut cera a facie ignis, munitiones adulteræ, quæ erant improborum receptacula et speluncæ latronum. Veniens autem in Eboracensem provinciam, quendam Philippum de Colevilla, qui munitionem suam apud Drax[1] incendere vel incendendam tradere jubebatur,[2] invenit rebellem; fretum scilicet ejusdem munitionis firmitate, et commilitonum suorum ingentibus animis, et copioso ciborum armorumque apparatu. Rex vero ex proximis provinciis exercitu convocato, munitionem objectu amnium, silvarum, atque paludum fere inaccessibilem obsidione conclusit, et fortiter expugnatam in brevi obtinuit. Erat autem tempus messis, et rex, in Eboraca civitate vel in adjacente provincia quæ volebat expletis, ad australes provincias remeabat, circa festivitatem beati archangeli Michaelis cum episcopis et nobilibus Angliæ concilium Lundoniis[3] celebraturus, tum pro regni negotiis, tum etiam[4] pro negotio vacantis ecclesiæ Eboracensis. Evocati ergo majores ejusdem

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[1] *Drax*, B.L.S.; *Draxe*, C.

[2] *jubebatur*, L.R.S.; *videbatur*, A.B.C.

[3] See Gervase of Canterbury (vol. i. p. 158).

[4] *etiam*, C.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1154.

ecclesiæ cum abbatibus atque prioribus subjectæ provinciæ affuere; factoque in Rogerium[1] archidiaconum Cantuariensem decreto, eum a suo archiepiscopo, cujus efficaci astutia omne negotium electionis ejus processerat, rege[2] connivente, sollemniter petiere. Quem cum facile a volente impetrassent, licet eum idem[3] archiepiscopus tanquam precibus obstrictus[4] cedere videretur, vel potius vellet videri, alias quoque preces adjecere[5]; scilicet ut eum, non tanquam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, sed tanquam Apostolicæ sedis legatus consecraret. Hoc quoque a volente non difficulter impetrato, consecratus est idem electus in ecclesia beati Petri apud Westmonasterium. Qui soluto concilio ad ecclesiam propriam properavit, et post susceptionis suæ sollemnia, rebus pro tempore dispositis, eundi ad sedem Apostolicam petendi pallii gratia, in propria persona iter arripuit. Rex vero post concilium in Cantia constitutus[6] morbo decubuit; quo ingravescente post dies paucos decessit mense Octobri, et sepultus est apud Faveresham in monasterio a se ante aliquot annos constructo, anno regni sui nonodecimo. Nuntium autem mortis ejus dux Normanniæ mature accepit, qui forte tunc castrum quoddam, quod ab eo desciverat, cum exercitu obsidebat. Cumque ab amicis moneretur relicta obsidione sub omni celeritate in Angliam transfretare, ne quid forte contra eum occasione moræ inimici veteres molirentur, mira justitiæ suæ confidentia respondit, illos nihil

Roger de Pont l'Evêque elected Archbishop of York.

He is consecrated at Westminster (Oct. 10).

Stephen dies Oct. (25), and is buried at Faversham.

The news reaches prince Henry while engaged in a siege.

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[1] *Rogerium*, L.S.; *Rogerum*, B.C.

[2] *rege*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *idem*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[4] *obstrictus*, B.L.S.; *obstructus*, C.

[5] *adjecere*, B L.S; *adjacere*, C.

[6] Newburgh omits the fact mentioned by Huntingdon that Stephen met the count of Flanders at Dover and died there. Gervase of Canterbury (i. 159) agrees: "mense Octo-"bri rex iterum comiti Flandrensi "apud Dovoriam occurrit, et cum "eo colloquium habuit . . . . et "ibidem in curia monachorum de-"cumbens diem clausit extremum "octavo kalendas Novembris."

A.D. 1154.

He waits to conclude operations before sailing for England.

ausuros.[1] Et quamvis amici multum instarent, obsidionem solvere noluit, donec factum est de castro obsesso quod voluit; exspectante illum cum desideriis Anglia,[2] et nulla interim in cunctis finibus ejus surgente procella. Et hujus quidem libri[3] iste sit[4] modus, ut a regno Henrici Secundi liber secundus[5] incipiat.

Explicit Liber Primus.[6]

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[1] *nihil ausuros*, B.L.S.; *nil mihi ausuros*, C.

[2] *Anglia*, B.L.S.; *in Anglia*, C.

[3] *libri*, C.L.S.; *liber*, B.

[4] *sit*, B.L.S.; *est*, C.

[5] *secundus*, B.C.S.; *iste*, L.

[6] A. and B. add, "*et incipit secun-*" "*dus.*"

LIBER SECUNDUS.

A.D. 1154–1174.

Incipiunt Capitula Libri Secundi.[1]

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[1] B. omits the whole elenchus.

[2] *regni Henrici*, L.S.; *Henrici regis*, C.

[3] *Scartheburch*, L.S.; *Scartchebuch*, C.; *Scacheburc*, G.

[4] *Brigiæ*, L.S.; *Briggiæ*, C.

[5] *venerunt*, L.S.; *redierunt*, C.

[6] S. omits *de*.

[7] *Bacinonensi*, S.; *Batinonensi*, L.; *Barconnensi*, C.

[8] Some letters follow in C. which probably were intended to belong to the word *Barconnensi* on the line above.

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[1] *archiepiscopum*, L.S.; *archipræsulem*, C.

[2] *Octoviani*, L.S.; *Octaviani*, C.

[3] *Alexandri*, L.S.; *Alexandri papæ*, C.

[4] *Walensi*, L.S.; *Walensium*, C.

[5] *Malcolmi*, L.S.; *Malcoloni*, C.

[6] *ab Anglis*, C.S.; om. L.

[7] *Albemarlam*, L.S.; *Albemarliam*, C.

[8] *Vernullum*, L.S.; *Vernulium*, C.

Expliciunt capitula.

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[1] *Leicestrensis*, L.S.; *Leicestriæ*, C.

[2] *exercitui et terræ*, L.S.; *in exercitu et terra*, C.

INCIPIT[1] LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

De primordiis regni Henrici secundi.

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°L°IV° Henricus, Henrici majoris ex filia olim imperatrice nepos, post mortem regis Stephani a Normannia in Angliam veniens, hereditarium regnum suscepit, conclamatus ab omnibus, et consecratus mystica unctione in regem, concrepantibus per Angliam turbis, "Vivat rex." Prioris quippe regni, sub quo tot mala pullulaverant, infelicitatem experti, de novo principe meliora[2] sperabant, præsertim cum præclara illi prudentia atque constantia cum zelo justitiæ inesse viderentur, et magni principis jam[3] in ipsis suis primordiis præferret imaginem. Denique edicto præcepit, ut illi, qui ex gentibus exteris in Angliam sub rege Stephano prædarum gratia tanquam ad militandum confluxerant, et maxime Flandrenses, quorum magna tunc Angliæ incubabat multitudo, propriis regionibus redderentur, fatalem eis diem constituens, quem in Anglia sustinere certi foret discriminis. Quo edicto pavefacti, ita in brevi dilapsi sunt, ut quasi phantasmata in momento disparuisse viderentur, stupentibus plurimis quo-

A.D. 1154.

Henry reaches England (Dec. 7).

He is crowned (Dec. 19).

Banishes Stephen's Brabançons and other mercenaries, who quickly disappear from England.

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[1] *incipiunt* in L.
[2] *meliora*, B.L.R.S.; *meliorem*, C.
[3] *principis jam*, C.; *jam principis*, A.B.L.S.

A.D. 1154. modo repente evanuissent.[1] Mox castella nova, quæ in diebus avi sui nequaquam exstiterant, complanari præcepit, præter pauca in locis opportunis sita, quæ vel ipse retinere, vel a pacificis ad regni munimen retineri voluit. Publicæ quoque disciplinæ in primis sollicitudinem[2] habuit; et ut legum vigor in Anglia revivisceret, qui sub rege Stephano exstinctus sepultusque videbatur, cura propensiore sategit. Ordinatisque in cunctis regni finibus juris et legum ministris, qui vel improborum audaciam coercerent, vel interpellantibus secundum causarum merita justitiam exhiberent, ipse vel in deliciis erat, vel majoribus negotiis regiam operam impendebat. Quotiens autem, judicibus mollius indigniusve agentibus, provincialium querimoniis pulsabatur, provisionis regiæ remedium adhibebat: illorum competenter corrigens vel[3] negligentiam vel excessum. Talia novi principis initia fuere, gratulantibus quidem et laudantibus pacificis: mussitantibus vero et contremiscentibus improbis. Fugiebant lupi rapaces, vel mutabantur in oves; aut si non vere mutabantur, metu tamen legum innoxii cum ovibus morabantur. Conflabantur gladii in vomeres, Isaias, ii. 4. et lanceæ in falces, nullusque jam exercebatur ad prœlium, sed omnes olim optatæ et nunc Deo propitio indultæ pacis, vel fovebantur otiis, vel intendebant negotiis.

Demolishes most of the castles erected since the reign of Henry I.

Appoints justiciaries and enforces the laws with vigour.

Watches over the administration of justice.

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[1] See Chronicle of John of Ypres. "Anno Domini MCLIV. Stephanus "Rex Angliæ moritur, cui successit "Henricus junior . . . qui Flamingos odio persequens Willermum de Ipra cum eis expulit ab "Anglia." The chronicle proceeds to state that he ended his days peacefully (*dans requiem temporibus suis*) in a monastery. Some of the Flemings were permitted to retire to Pembroke.

[2] *sollicitudinem*, C L.S.; *solitudinem*, B.

[3] *vel*, B.L.S.; om. C.

Cap. II.

Quomodo rex[1] *Henricus secundus dominica regia ad pristinum revocavit statum.*

Considerans autem rex,[2] quod regii redditus breves essent, qui avito tempore uberes fuerant, eo quod regia dominica per mollitiem regis Stephani ad alios multosque dominos majori ex parte migrassent, præcepit ea cum omni integritate a quibuscunque detentoribus resignari, et in jus statumque pristinum revocari. Et hi quidem, qui regiis oppidis seu vicis hactenus incliti fuerant, chartas, quas a rege Stephano vel extorserant vel obsequiis emerant, quibus tuti forent,[3] protulerunt. Sed quoniam chartæ invasoris juri legitimi principis præjudicium facere minime debuerunt, eisdem instrumentis tuti esse minime potuerunt. Itaque primo indignati, deinde conterriti et contristati,[4] ægre quidem, sed tamen integre, usurpata et diu tanquam solido jure detenta resignarunt. Cumque in cunctis[5] regni provinciis omnes usque ad unum, de quo post pauca dicetur, voluntati regiæ paruissent, rex Transhumbranas partes adiit, comitemque Albemarlensem Willelmum, qui ibidem sub Stephano rex verior fuerat,[6] de re consimili eodem quo ceteros pondere auctoritatis convenit. Ille diu hæsitans, multumque æstuans, tandem corde saucius potestati succubuit, et quæcunque ex regio dominico pluribus jam annis possederat, cum

A.D. 1155. The king resumes crown lands which Stephen had granted away.

He also receives back Yorkshire from William of Albemarle.

[1] *rex*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *rex*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *forent*, B.R.S.; *fuerant*, L., also C., which has *vel forent* written above.

[4] *contristati*, C.L.S.; *consternati*, A., and B. by 15th cent. alteration.

[5] *cunctis*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[6] *See* p. 105. This is the William of Albemarle of whom Newburgh speaks, pp. 47 and 48, as having expelled the canons of Bridlington. He fought bravely on Stephen's side at the battle of the Standard.

A.D. 1155. ingenti anxietate resignavit, maxime famosum illud et nobile castrum, quod dicitur Scartheburth,[1] cujus situm talem esse novimus.

Scarborough castle is resigned.

Cap. III.

De situ castelli de Scartheburth.[2]

Description of Scarborough castle.

Rupes stupendæ altitudinis simul et amplitudinis, et præruptis fere ex omni parte scopulis inaccessa, mare irrumpit, quo tota ambitur, exceptis tanquam faucium quarundam[3] angustiis, quas aperit ad occidentem, habens in summo planitiem speciosam et herbidam, et spatiosam tanquam sexaginta jugerum et[4] eo amplius, fonticulum quoque aquæ vivæ ex saxo profluentem. In ipsis autem faucibus, ad quas sine labore non ascenditur, turris regia sita est; et sub eisdem faucibus urbis initium est in[5] austrum et aquilonem utrumque latus spargentis, frontem vero[6] ad occidentem habentis: et a fronte quidem proprio muro, ab oriente vero rupe castelli munitur; porro utrumque ejus latus mari alluitur. Sane hunc locum memoratus comes Wilelmus, cum in Eboracensi provincia plurimum posset, castro construendo idoneum contemplatus, sumptuoso[7] opere naturam juvans, totam rupis planitiem muro amplexus est, et turrim in faucium angustiis fabricavit; qua processu temporis collapsa, arcem magnam et præclaram rex ibidem ædificari præcepit.

Alterations made in the castle by William of Albemarle during his tenure of power in the North.

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[1] Almost the same variations as in note 2.

[2] *Scartheburth*, L.S.; *Scartheburc*, C.; *Scarburthe*, B.; *Scarburgh*, A.

[3] *quarundam*, C.; *quarundem* (sic), L.S.: om. B.

[4] *et*, C.L.S.; *vel*, B.

[5] *in*, B.L.R.S.; *ad*, C.

[6] *vero*, B.C.S.; om. A.L.

[7] *sumptuoso*, B.L.R.S.; *sumptuosoque*, C.

Cap. IV.[1]

De obsidione et deditione Brigiæ, et quomodo rex Scottorum reddidit regi Anglorum aquilonales Angliæ partes.

A.D. 1155.

Henry wrests Bridgenorth from Hugh Mortimer.

Rex igitur, in eadem provincia rebus ad votum gestis, ad superiora Angliæ remeans, solum Hugonem de Mortuomari, virum fortem et nobilem, annis jam plurimis regio castro de Brigia[2] incubantem, offendit rebellem. Qui cum juberetur[3] propriis esse contentus, et reddere quæ de jure regio possidebat, pervicacissime renuit, seque, quibus potuit modis, ad resistendum præparavit. Sed quod superbia ejus et indignatio ejus esset plus quam fortitudo ejus, consequenter apparuit. Rex enim, celeriter exercitu congregato, Brigiam obsedit: quam post dies non multos fortiter oppugnatam in deditionem recipiens, ei, cujus cor paulo ante quasi cor leonis fuerat, humiliato et supplici veniam dedit. Regi quoque Scottorum, qui[4] aquilonales Angliæ regiones, scilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, Westmeriam,[5] nomine Mathildis[6] dictæ imperatricis et heredis ejus olim a David Scottorum rege acquisitas, tanquam jus proprium possidebat, mandare curavit, regem Angliæ tanta regni sui parte non debere fraudari, nec posse patienter mutilari, justum esse reddi quod suo fuisset nomine acquisitum.[7] Ille vero prudenter considerans regem Angliæ in hac parte cum potentia virium merito causæ præstare, quamvis posset obtendere juramentum quod avo suo David præstitisse dicebatur, cum ab eo cingulum acciperet militare, prænominatos

Malcolm IV. surrenders Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland (A.D. 1157).

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[1] There is no division in A. and B., chapters iii. and iv. forming one chapter.

[2] *Brigia*, C.L.S.; *Briggia*, A.B. Similiar variations below.

[3] *Qui cum juberetur*, B.L.S.: *cumque juberetur*, C.

[4] *qui*, B.L.S.; *qui ad*, C.

[5] *Westmeriam*, C.S.; *Westemeriam*, A.B.L.

[6] *Mathildis*, S.; *Matildis*, B.C.L.

[7] *Vide ante* pp. 103, 104 as to William of Albemarle, who held Yorkshire.

A.D. 1157. fines repetenti cum integritate restituit,[1] et ab eo vicissim comitatum Huntedunensem prisco sibi jure competentem recepit. His[2] ita compositis, Anglia in[3] cunctis finibus suo otio et securitate pro tempore fruebatur. Regis autem supra omnes qui hactenus in Anglia regnasse noscebantur latius dominantis, hoc est ab ultimis Scotiæ finibus ad montes usque Pyrenæos, in cunctis regionibus nomen celebre habebatur.

Henry regrants the earldom of Huntingdon to Malcolm.

Cap. V.

De bello Walensium,[4] et quomodo in gratiam regis redierunt.

A.D. 1157. Verum non multis diebus elapsis, inter regem et Walenses, gentem inquietam et barbaram, discordia oritur, dum vel ille aliquid insolitum per potentiam ab eis exigeret, vel illi silvosis montibus vallibusque suis plus justo confisi, tanto principi per insolentiam[5] solita denegarent, sive etiam propter eorum inquietudinem et clandestinos in vicinos Anglorum fines excursus. Rex vero, immensis ex tota Anglia copiis congregatis, regionem Walliarum, qua facilior aditus videbatur, ingredi statuit. Porro illi convenientes, excubabant in terminis; et in planum progredi, vel aperto bello cum loricatis congredi, levis armaturæ homines caute declinantes, delitescebant in silvis, et viarum angustias observabant.

War breaks out with the Welsh.

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[1] *Vide ante* p. 103. See also the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, pp. 426–9, as to the appendant possessions of the earldom in London.

[2] *his ita*, B.C.R.; *his*, L.S.

[3] *Anglia in*, C.L.S.; *in Anglia in*, B.

[4] *Walensium*, C.L.S.; *Wallensium*, B., with similar variations four lines below. These events should follow those in cap. 7. See p. 112, note 5.

[5] *per insolentiam*, B.C.R.S.; *vel insolentia*, L.

Sane Walenses reliquiæ Britonum esse noscuntur, qui hujus insulæ, quæ nunc Anglia dicitur, olim Britannia dicebatur, incolæ primi fuere, ejusdemque nationis et linguæ esse probantur cujus et Britones transmarini. Cum autem gens Britonum a supervenientibus Anglorum populis exterminium pateretur, qui evadere potuerunt refugerunt in Wallias, contra irruptionem hostium naturæ beneficio tutas, ibique hæc natio perseverat usque in[1] præsentem diem. Regio quippe illa tractu protensiori[2] ad prospectum Hiberniæ super mare occidentale jacens, alio latere regionibus Anglicis jungitur, et fere tota vel oceano vel inviis saltibus aliisque[3] difficultatibus cingitur; ideoque difficillimos habet accessus, sive ingressus. Introrsus autem inextricabiles quosdam noscitur habere recessus, ita ut quam periculosum est potenti cuilibet eam cum exercitu ingredi, tam impossibile sit eam interius cum exercitu pervagari. Gignit autem pro sui natura homines moribus barbaros, audaces, et infidos, alieni sanguinis avidos, et proprii prodigos, rapinis semper inhiantes, et tanquam transfuso a natura odio genti Anglorum infestos. Habet quidem, pro eo quod saltuosa est, uberrimas alendis pecoribus pascuas; sed plani parum habens, et frugum infecunda, alendis propriis non sufficit filiis sine invecto ex vicinis Angliæ provinciis commeatu. Quem nimirum quoniam[4] sine beneficio vel permissu regis Anglorum habere non potest, ejusdem cogitur ditioni subjacere. Et si forte per latrocinales excursus, a quibus propter[5] effrenatam barbariem vix temperat, eum irritaverit, iram ejus diu non sustinens, cogitur eum placare.

A.D. 1157.

Account of Wales and the Welsh.

Wales to a great extent dependent on food supplied from England, and thus easily brought to terms.

Igitur rex fines hostium, cum natura et malitia locorum multum luctando, ingrediens, infausta negotii initia habuit. Pars enim exercitus per loca silvosa et

Unfortunate opening of the war.

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[1] *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[2] *protensiori*, B.L.S.; *propensiori*, C.

[3] *aliisque*, B.C.S.; *aliis*, L

[4] *quoniam*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[5] *propter*, C.L.S.; *per*, B.

A.D. 1157.

Part of the army is caught in an ambush.

humida incautius gradiens, delitescentium juxta viam hostium excepta insidiis, periclitata est; ibique Eustachius filius Johannis,[1] vir magnus et grandævus, atque inter primos Angliæ proceres divitiarum et sapientiæ titulis refulgens, cum Roberto de Curci æque nobili viro aliisque pluribus, interiit. Qui vero evasere periculum, regem, qui jam Deo propitio eruperat et in tuto consistebat, cum ceteris occubuisse putantes, ejusque interitum adventantibus adhuc et properantibus ad angustias ordinibus nuntiantes, non parvam exercitus partem, rumoris atrocitate attonitam, enerviter fugere compulerunt; ita ut Henricus Essexensis, vir inter primos inclitus, et jure hereditario signifer regius, vexillo regio, cujus conspectu exercitus animandus erat, abjecto, fugæ se crederet, atque occurrentibus regem exstinctum proclamaret. Ob quod delictum postea a quodam viro nobili, proditionis ei dedecus publice opponente, regii vigore judicii, duello addictus est, et ab eodem devictus. Quem tamen rex de misericordia judicio mortis subducens, apud Redingum[2] monachum fieri jussit, amplissimo autem patrimonio ejus fiscum auxit. Sed hoc postea.[3] Cum ergo rex ocius advolans turbatum exercitum proprio exhilarasset aspectu, resumptis illico animis et viribus, confusi ordines in ordinem coiere, seque adversus hostiles de cetero insidias cautius instruxere. Cumque rex hostes etiam a mari invadendos duceret, et classem non modicam præparari jussisset, legati hostium cum verbis pacificis affuerunt, moxque illorum reguli supplices ad eum venerunt. Qui cum, ob promerendam tanti prin-

Henry of Essex, the king's standard bearer, spreads a report that the king is killed.

He is afterwards (in 1163) beaten in a duel arising from this occurrence, and becomes a monk.

The king restores confidence.

[1] *filius Johannis*, L.S.; *Johannis filius*, B.C.

[2] *Redingum*, C.L.S.; *Reddingum*, B.

[3] A promise Newburgh does not fulfil. Another promise similarly unfulfilled (see p. 164, note 3,) lends strength to the idea that this history never received a final revision. An interesting account of Henry de Essex is introduced as an episode into the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond (Camden Soc. edit. p. 50).

cipis gratiam, quibusdam finium suorum munitionibus traditis, hominium illi cum[1] sacramentis præstitissent, pacis sereno post belli nubilum gratius arridente, exercitus ad propria cum gaudio reversus, et rex ad alia negotia sive delicias est conversus.

A.D. 1157. The preparation of an expedition by sea brings the Welsh to terms.

Cap. VI.

Quomodo Nicholaus[2] Anglicus factus est papa Romanus.[3]

Sane anno primo regis Henrici secundi obiit Anastasius papa, successor Eugenii, cum fuisset pontifex anni unius. Cui successit Nicholaus Albanensis episcopus, mutans nomen cum omine, dictusque est Adrianus.[4] De quo dicendum est quomodo tanquam de pulvere elevatus sit, ut sederet in medio principum, et Apostolicæ teneret solium gloriæ. Is enim, natione Anglicus, patrem habuit clericum quendam non multæ facultatis, qui, relicto cum seculo impubere filio, apud Sanctum Albanum factus est monachus. Ille vero adolescentiam ingressus, cum propter inopiam scholis vacare non posset, idem monasterium quotidianæ stipis gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit, verbisque mordacibus socordiam ejus increpitans, omni solatio destitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit.[5] Ille vero

A.D. 1154. Death of Pope Anastasius IV. (Dec. 2).

Nicholas Breakspeare, Bishop of Albano, is elected Pope (Dec. 3), and takes the title of Adrian IV. The story of his life.

[1] *cum*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[2] *Nicholaus*, B.S.; *Nicolaus*, L.C.

[3] *Romanus*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] *nomen . . . Adrianus*, B.L.R.S.; *nomen cum homine vel cognomine dictus Adrianus*, C.

[5] Matthew Paris, "Vitæ viginti "trium Sancti Albani Abbatum," (Wats' ed. 70, 71) has the following account in which the outline of Adrian's early life is softened and his quarrel with his monks suppressed: "Hic Nicholaus . . . filius "fuit cujusdam Roberti de Camera, "qui honeste vivens in seculo litera-"tus aliquautulum, habitum religi-"onis in domo Sancti Albani sus-"cepit: et filium suum memoratum "Nicholaum, clericum et scholarem "in claustrum attrahere volens, in-"terpellavit abbatem pro ipso, ut

A.D. 1154. sibi relictus, et forti necessitate aliquid audere coactus, Gallicanas adiit regiones, ingenue erubescens in Anglia vel fodere vel mendicare. Cumque in Francia minus prosperaretur, ad remotiora progrediens, trans Rhodanum[1] peregrinatus est in regione quæ Provincia dicitur. Est autem in illa regione monasterium nobile regularium clericorum, quod dicitur, Sancti Rufi,[2] ad quem locum ille veniens, et subsistendi occasionem ibidem inveniens, quibus potuit obsequiis eisdem se fratribus commendare curavit. Et quoniam erat corpore elegans, vultu jocundus, prudens in verbis, ad injuncta impiger,[3] placuit omnibus: rogatusque canonici ordinis suscipere habitum, annis plurimis ibidem resedit, regularis inter primos disciplinæ æmulator.[4] Cumque esset acris ingenii et linguæ expeditæ, frequenti et studiosa lectione ad scientiam atque eloquentiam multum profecit. Unde factum est ut abbate defuncto fratres eum concorditer atque sollemniter in patrem eligerent.[5] Quibus cum aliquamdiu præfuisset, pœnitentia ducti atque indignati quod hominem peregrinum levassent[6] super capita sua, facti sunt ei de cetero[7] infidi atque infesti. Odiis itaque paulatim crudescentibus, ut jam graviter aspicerent in quo

Becomes Abbot of St. Rufus in Provence.

"eundem in monachum susciperet. "Abbas autem concessit, si idoneus "idem Nicholaus inveniretur. Sed "examinatus, insufficiens repertus "est. Recessit igitur confusus Ni-"cholaus, et abiens in Provinciam, "in domo Sancti Rufi canonicus "effectus est, qui postea meritis exi-"gentibus, in eadem domo sortitus "abbatis est dignitatem, et postea "cum bene per aliquot annos vixis-"set, et negotia domus prudenter "pertractaret, Romam adiit pro "quibusdam arduis suæ domus "negotiis expediendis. Et cum "ipsa in curia Romana efficaciter et "prudenter consummasset, famosus "effectus est, &c."

[1] The 15th cent. hand in B. has altered *Rodanum* to *Jordanum*. A. has the same absurd reading.

[2] *Rufi*, L.S.; *Ruffi*, B.C.

[3] *impiger*, C.L.S.; *piger*, B.

[4] *æmulator*, B.L.R.S.; *æmulator exsistens*, C.

[5] *eligerent*, B.L.S.; *elegerunt*, C.R.

[6] *levassent*, B.L.R.S.; *elegissent*, C.

[7] *de cetero*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

sibi paulo ante tam bene complacuerat, tandem confectis et propositis contra eum capitulis ad sedem eum Apostolicam provocarunt. Piæ autem memoriæ Eugenius, qui tunc arcem pontificii tenebat, cum rebellium filiorum contra patrem querelas audisset, et ejus pro se allegantis prudentiam modestiamque adverteret, paci inter eos reformandæ efficacem operam dedit,[1] multumque improperans[2] et sæpius inculcans utrique parti, ut partes esse desinerent et[3] unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis servarent, reconciliatos ad propria remisit. At non diu quievit nescia quietis malitia, grandiusque intonuit rediviva tempestas. Interpellatus est iterum idem venerabilis pontifex, cujus jam aures fratrum illorum querelis et susurriis tinniebant. Utrique ergo parti pie et prudenter prospiciens: "Scio," inquit, "fratres, ubi sedes sit Sathanæ: scio quid in "vobis suscitet procellam istam. Ite, eligite vobis "patrem, cum quo pacem habere possitis, vel potius "velitis; iste enim non erit vobis ulterius oneri."[4] Itaque dimissis fratribus abbatem in beati Petri obsequio retinens, Albanensem ordinavit episcopum, ac non multo post, sumptis industriæ ejus experimentis, in gentes ferocissimas Dacorum et Norrensium[5] cum plenitudine potestatis direxit legatum. Quo ille officio in barbaris nationibus per annos aliquot sapienter et strenue administrato, Romam cum salute et gaudio remeavit; susceptusque a summo pontifice et cardinalibus cum honore et gloria, evolutis diebus non multis, Anastasio qui Eugenio successerat decedente,[6] omnium in eum votis concurrentibus, Romanæ urbis pontificatum suscepit, ex Nicholao Adrianus. Qui

Ephes. iv. 3.

A.D. 1154.

The monks repenting of their choice appeal to the Pope against him.

The pope settles a second appeal by permitting the choice of another abbot, and by ordaining Nicholas bishop of Albano. He is sent as legate to Scandinavia. Returning to Rome just before the death of Anastasius IV. he is on that event occurring chosen as pope.

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[1] *efficacem operam dedit*, B.L.S.; *caritati operam dedit efficacem*, C.

[2] *improperans*, C.L.S.; *imperans*, B.R.

[3] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] *iste . . . oneri*. This order is adopted by B.L.S.; C. places *ulterius* before *non*.

[5] *Norrensium*, C.L.S.; *Norensium*, A.B.

[6] *decedente*, C.L.S.; *descendente*, B.; *decidente*, L.

A.D. 1154.

The special favour shown by him to the Abbey of St. Albans.

nimirum suorum non immemor rudimentorum, ob paternam maxime memoriam, beati martyris Albani ecclesiam et donariis honoravit, et perpetuis insignivit privilegiis.

Cap. VII.

Qua de causa Gaufridus regis frater descivit[1] *ab ipso, et quomodo reconciliatus est.*

A.D. 1156.

The Welsh war being over Henry hears that Geoffrey is raising rebellion abroad.

Arrangements made by the elder Geoffrey for the succession to his dominions.

Cum igitur[2] Anglia,[3] sedatis et subactis[4] Walensibus, in pace et securitate ageret, nuntiatum est regi fratrem suum Gaufridum tumultuari in partibus transmarinis.[5] Causa vero[6] motus fraterni hæc[7] erat.[8] Illustris ille comes Andegavensis ex Matilde olim imperatrice tres susceperat[9] liberos, Henricum, Gaufridum, Wilelmum. Cum ergo ad Henricum primogenitum paterni maternique juris spectaret integritas, idem comes provisionem reliquorum noluit in totum ex gratia fratris pendere, nesciens qualem ille[10] ad fratres foret habiturus affectum. Itaque in extremis agens, medio filiorum comitatum Andegavensem testamento reliquit. Sed quia tunc Anglia sub eventu pendebat ambiguo, "Cum Henricus," inquit, "plenitudinem ob-"tinuerit juris materni, id est, Normanniam[11] cum "Anglia, fratri Gaufrido jus paternum integre dimit-

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[1] *descivit*, B.L.S. ; *desciverit*, C.

[2] *igitur*, B.C.R.S. ; *enim*, L.

[3] *Anglia*, B.L. ; *in Anglia*, but *in* expuncted, both in C. and S.

[4] *subactis*, B.L.R.S. ; *sublatis*, C.

[5] Newburgh has here reversed the order of events.

[6] *vero*, B.L.S. ; *enim*, C. ; om. R.

[7] B. omits *hæc*.

[8] "Gaufridus anno 1152 cum Lu-"dovico Francorum Rege jam con-"spiraverat, ut Henricum fratrem "rebus suis cismarinis spoliaret, ut "constat ex Andegav. et Gervasii "chronicis" (Bouquet, xiii. 103, note). A circumstance which also cannot have been without its weight with Henry is the fact that Geoffrey was one of the suitors who waylaid Eleanor as she was returning to Poitou.

[9] *susceperat*, B.L.R.S. ; *suscepit*, C.

[10] C. has *illi*.

[11] *Normanniam*, B.C.S. ; *Northmanniam*, L.

"tat. Interim vero idem[1] Gaufridus tribus castellis "non ignobilibus, scilicet Chinone,[2] Leoduno, Mirabello, "sit contentus." Et quoniam Henricus tunc forte aberat, mature affuturus, episcopos et nobiles, qui aderant, adjuravit, ne corpus suum sepulturæ traderetur, nisi prius præstito sacramento a filio, quod paternum minime violaret testamentum. Denique illo mortuo, ad celebrandas exsequias mox filius affuit, adjurationem illam paternam audivit; diu hæsitavit; tandem conclamantibus omnibus, ne ad sempiternum et inexpiabile dedecus corpus patris sineret insepultum tabe corrumpi, victus succubuit; et sacramentum, quod exigebatur, non sine fletu præstitit. Sepulto patre testamentum designatum est. Ille vero pro tempore dissimulavit dolorem. Cum autem regnum esset adeptus, Romano pontifici, ut dicitur, qua necessitate quod nesciebat jurasset, intimare curavit. Et quoniam extorta sacramenta vel vota non obligant, nisi forte ex subsequenti consensu convalescant,[3] facilem, ut dicitur, ab illo sacramento absolutionem impetravit. Ingesta enim necessitas jurandi, sive vovendi, necessitatem non ingerit quod juratum votumve est[4] adimplendi, sed sola voluntatis[5] hanc necessitatem parit libertas. Ea ratione tutus, nec paterni testamenti, nec proprii juramenti[6] contemplatione, fratri satisfacere voluit. Unde ille indignatus, tribus prænominatis castellis, quæ pater ei[7] reliquerat, contra omnes, ut putabat, casus munitis, vicinas turbabat provincias. Rex autem exercitu propere congregato, Chinonem,[8] castellum sci-

A.D. 1156.

Pressure put upon Henry to induce him to carry out his father's wishes.

Henry obtains absolution from his oath.

Geoffrey, indignant at Henry's bad faith, begins to disturb his dominions.

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[1] C. has *eidem*.
[2] *Chinone*, B.; *Schinone*, L.S.; *Chynone*, C.
[3] S. has *convalescat*.
[4] *est*, B.C.S.; *non est*, L.
[5] *voluntatis*, B.L.S.; *voluntas*, C.R.
[6] This word in L. is incomplete.
[7] *ei*, B.C.S.; *ejus ei*, L.
[8] *Chinonem*, B.L.S.; *Chynonem*, C. Bouquet (xiii. p. 103), has the note, "an. 1156 non solum Chinonem "castellum, sed etiam Losdonum et "Mirabellum fratri abstulit Henricus, ex iisdem chronicis." (Andegav. et Gervas.)

A.D. 1156.

Henry obtains the surrender of Chinon. Allows his brother a simple estate.

licet sic dictum, quod tantæ erat firmitatis, ut in eo muniendo tuendoque natura et operatio humana concertare viderentur,[1] obsedit, et in brevi per deditionem[2] obtinuit. Fratri humiliato et supplici veniam dedit, castellisque nudato, ut occasionem superbiæ tolleret, terram planam concessit, ex qua fructuum utilitas proveniret. Cumque idem mærore[3] contabesceret, et nunc fratris duritiam, nunc fortunæ cum gemitu accusaret invidiam; felicior eum subito exhilaravit eventus. Cives enim præclaræ urbis Nammetensis[4] certum, vel in quo sibi complaceret, dominum non habentes, ejus industria et strenuitate invitati eum sibi in verum certumque dominum elegerunt, atque accersito civitatem cum adjacente provincia tradiderunt. At non diu hac felicitate functum mors immatura sustulit,[5] moxque[6] eandem civitatem comes Richemundensis, qui tunc transmarinæ Britanniæ magna ex parte præsidebat, tanquam verus possessor intravit. Quibus auditis rex, dato mandatò Richemundensem comitatum fisco applicari, illico ex Anglia Normanniam transfretavit, et civitatem Nammetensem[7] tanquam jure fraternæ successionis reposcens, eundem comitem magni apparatus terroribus ita præstrinxit atque infregit, ut vix tepide obluctari conatus, civitate resignata insistentem placaret.

The citizens of Nantes invite Geoffrey to be their ruler.

His early death (A.D. 1158).

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[1] *viderentur*, B.L.S.; *videntur*, C.

[2] *deditionem*, B.C.R.S.; *ditionem*, L.

[3] *mærore*, B.L.R.S.; *de mærore*, C.

[4] *Nammetensis*, L.R.S.; *Nanmetensis*, B.; *Nannatensis*, C.

[5] "Anno item 1156 vel 1157 "ante Quadragesimam, Nanneten- "sem Gaufridus adeptus est comi- "tatum, ex chronicis Britannicis, "ejusque occasus ibidem anno "1158 illigatur." (Bouquet, xiii. 104, note. *a*.)

[6] *moxque*, C.L.S.; *mox*, B.

[7] *Nammetensem*, L.S.; *Nunnatensem*, C.; *Nammantensem*, B.

Cap. VIII.

De subversione[1] *Mediolani, et Magorum reliquiis.*

A.D. 1160–2.

Capture and destruction of Milan by the emperor Frederick I. The cities of northern Italy throwing off the imperial yoke dispute as to precedence. The Milanese try to gain the leadership. Their struggles with Pavia. The Pavians join the Emperor, who advances upon Milan.

Iisdem fere temporibus Fredericus[2] Teutonicus atque Italicus imperator Mediolanum,[3] urbem opum viriumque suarum fiducia diu rebellem, expugnavit, cepit, evertit. Et quidem Longobardi gens inquieta et bellicosa, immoderatæ libertatis æmula, et tam numero urbium quam magnitudine virium superba, ante annos plurimos ab imperatore Romano magna ex parte desciverat: sed dum inter se amplissimæ civitates de prioratu disceptarent, atque aliæ aliis imperare cuperent, imperatorias contra se vires auxerunt. Denique Mediolanenses, opibus viribusque præcellentes, totius Longobardiæ affectabant imperium; jamque aliquot urbes subegerant, quasdam etiam rebelles everterant,[4] cum Papienses viribus quidem impares, sed tamen eorum imperium aspernantes, ad partes imperatorias se transtulerunt. Quorum exemplum secutæ urbes ceteræ, in fœdus imperatoris venerunt. Aggressurus ergo Mediolanenses,[5] defectu omnium sociorum remissius jam agentes, imperator vires imperii contrahebat. Illi quoque dominandi libidinem[6] in tuendæ libertatis constantiam convertentes, totis se[7] opibus adversus imperatorios impetus muniebant. Cumque suburbana demolirentur atque diruerent, ne tantum obsessis nociva quantum obsidentibus usui forent, eadem ratione monasterium quoque antiquum et nobile, et sanctorum insigne reliquiis extra mœnia destruentes, quicquid in eo sacrum reverendumque repertum est, in urbem transtulerunt: trium præcipue

[1] *subversione,* L.S.; *eversione,* A.B.C.

[2] *Fledericus* in B., and so originally in S.

[3] *Mediolanum,* B.L.R.S.; *Mediolanam,* C.

[4] *quasdam . . . . . . everterant,* B.C.S.; om. L.

[5] *Mediolanenses,* C.L.S.; *Medolanenses,* B.

[6] C. has *libidine.*

[7] *totis se,* C.L.S.; B. has *totisque.*

A.D. 1160–2.

Magorum corpora, qui Salvatoris infantiam mysticis honorando muneribus, facti sunt ex gentibus primitiæ Deo et Agno. Et quidem thesaurus iste,[1] olim in ejusdem ecclesiæ secreto repositus, ipsos quoque monachos clericosque ibidem ministrantes latebat; sed cum usque ad fundamentum destrueretur ipsa ecclesia, repertus et revelatus est cum manifestis indiciis, quibus declarabatur, quod viri illi, quorum memoria in benedictione est,[2] honorato et adorato Salvatore puero, in regionem suam reversi, etiam post passionis ejus triumphum superstites fuerint:[3] et, percepta prædicantibus Apostolis baptismi gratia, ad Ipsum quem in cunabulis olim honoraverant, ab Eodem in dextera Patris sedente honorandi, migraverint.[4] Nec non et[5] a quibus[6] personis sacræ illorum reliquiæ illuc delatæ, ibique repositæ fuerint.[7] Eædem vero reliquiæ ossibus et nervis compactæ cutem quoque aridam atque imputribilem superductam habebant, vi, ut putatur,[8] balsami, quo post mortem, gentili more, corpora eorum delibuta creduntur. Sed et aureus circulus[9] eadem, ut dicitur, corpora cum reperta sunt ambiebat, ut sibi mutuo cohærerent.

In destroying, as a military precaution, the buildings outside the walls the relics of the Three Kings are discovered.

Description of the bodies.

Igitur obsessa est urbs Mediolanensis ab imperatore Frederico, cujus quantus exercitus fuerit eo ipso cognoscitur, quo Mediolanum potuit obsidere, urbem scilicet potentissimam, et de suorum numerositate atque ferocia filiorum in[10] immensum[11] gloriantem. Quæ nimirum post casus varios multiplicesque conflictus de-

Milan falls into the hands of Frederick (March 4, 1162).

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[1] *iste*, B.L.S.; *ille*, (?) C.

[2] *est*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *fuerint*, A.B.R.S.; *fuerunt*, C.L.

[4] *migraverint*, A.B.C.R., and S. by alteration; *migraverunt*, L.

[5] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

quibus, A.B.L.R.S.; *quibusdam*, C. Picard's emendation, *nec notu est a quibus*, overcomes the difficulty.

[7] *fuerint*, A.B.C.S.; *fuerunt*, L.

[8] *putatur*, B.L.S.; *putabatur*, C.R.

[9] *et aureus circulus . . . ambiebat*, L.S.; in C. *circulus* follows, and in B. precedes *ambiebat*. B. omits *et*.

[10] *in*, B.C.; om. L.R.S.

[11] *immensum*, B.C.; *immensium*, L.R.S., and C. originally.

ditioni addicta, incidit in manus hostiles. Victor imperator civitatem evertit; cives, quoniam se[1] dediderant, non disperdidit sed dispersit; præclaras illas Magorum reliquias ibidem reconditas, Longobardis ægre ferentibus, in regnum Teutonicum transtulit, et thesauri hujus custodia civitatem Coloniam insignivit.

A.D. 1162.

The bodies of the Three Kings are transferred to Cologne.

Cap. IX.

De schismate Romanæ ecclesiæ, et Papiensi concilio, et conventu[2] Gallicano.

A.D. 1158–61.

Illustris Anglorum rex Henricus anno regni sui quinto[3] apud Lincolniam sollemniter corona-

Deferring to an ancient superstition, Henry

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[1] *se*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[2] B. has *conventi*.

[3] It is necessary here to notice Newburgh's peculiar mode of reckoning. The following are the instances in which he joins the chronological year to what is apparently the "regnal year," in his account of Henry II. (the figures in brackets give the "regnal year" as usually computed):—

Lib. II. 22. *quarto-decimo*: 1167 (13th).
„ 25. *septimus decimus*: 1170 (16th).
„ 26. *octavus decimus*: 1171 (17th).
„ 27. *vicesimus*: 1173 (19th).
Lib. III. 1. *vicesimus secundus*: (21st). 1175
„ 4. *vicesimus septimus*: (26th). 1180
„ 5. *sequenti anno* (following *vicesimo septimo*): (27th). 1181
„ 7. *tricesimus*: (29th) 1183.
Lib. III. 10. *tricesimus primus*: (30th) 1184.

In each of these cases the event dated fell outside the period 25th–31st December, so no confusion has arisen from the fact (*see* p. 57, note 1) that Newburgh, like many other chroniclers, began his year at Christmas. A glance at the above tabular statement will show that in Newburgh's mind either (i.) a portion of the period following Henry's recognition by all parties as heir to the throne (7 Nov. 1153) is, as Bouquet thinks (xiii. 105, note *a*), reckoned as his *first* regnal year—though a fact to be noted below conflicts with this assumption; or, more probably, (ii.) the two months from Stephen's death (25th Oct. 1154) are so viewed. This is confirmed by the fact that the death of pope Anastasius IV. (2 Dec. 1154) is said (lib. ii. cap. 5) to have happened in Henry's first year. Thus we must regard his "14th year" in this chronicle as

A.D. 1158.

is crowned outside the walls of Lincoln (Dec. 25, 1157).

tus[1] est in Natali Dominico, non quidem intra mœnia, credo propter vetustam illam superstitionem, quam rex Stephanus, ut supra dictum est,[2] laudabiliter contempsit atque derisit, sed in vico suburbano.

Death of Pope Adrian IV. (Aug. 30, 1159).

Sequenti vero anno Adrianus papa naturæ debitum solvit; quo sublato, cardinales in summi pontificis electione discordes ecclesiam sciderunt, et dum in se mutuo partes sævirent, in orbe quoque terrarum vinculum ecclesiasticæ pacis ruperunt. Et quidem pars major saniorque in Rollandum,[3] ejusdem ecclesiæ cancellarium, virum religiosum et literatum,[4] concordans, eundem ritu canonico consecravit. Pars vero nonnulla, et fere nulla, in Octovianum[5] nobilem virum conveniens, eundem, divinum non verita judicium, execrationis elogio maculavit. Uterque in alterum excommunicationis et damnationis sententiam promul-

The majority of the sacred college elects Roland Bandinelli as Alexander III. (Sept. 7, 1159).

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meaning not his 14th regnal year, but the 14th chronological year (beginning Dec. 25) in which he stood forth as king *de facto* as well as *de jure*. It appears therefore that our author is not confusing dates, but is reckoning correctly on a system to which the key is given above. At the end of Cap. 26, Lib. III., it is rightly enough stated that Henry died in the 35th year of his reign, but our author is here probably reckoning the total number of years and fractions of years of which the reign was composed. This is not inconsistent with the table given above, but it disposes of Bouquet's theory, according to which Newburgh would have been compelled to attribute a reign of nearly 36 years to Henry.

[1] According to Newburgh's peculiar reckoning Henry's 5th year extended from Dec. 25, 1157, to Dec. 24, 1158, and the succeeding year would therefore extend to Dec. 24, 1159. His date thus agrees with the year of pope Adrian's death, a few lines further on ("Sequenti vero anno"), for this event certainly happened in 1159. Hoveden agrees with Newburgh as to *facts*, "Anno "gratiæ 1158 . . . idem rex Henri"cus secundo fecit se coronari "apud Lincolniam extra muros "civitatis in Wikeford . . . Anno "gratiæ 1159 . . . . idem rex Hen"ricus tertio fecit se et Alienor ux"orem suam coronari in solennitate "Paschali apud Wirecestre." R. de Diceto states that Henry was crowned at Worcester in 1158, and was never crowned again. The Pipe Roll (4 Hen. II.) p. 136 confirms 1157 as the Lincoln date.

[2] See p. 57.

[3] *Rollandum*, L S.; *Rolandum*, B.C.

[4] *literatum*, C.L.S.; *literarum*, B.

[5] *Octovianum*, A.C.L.S.; *Octavianum*, B. These variations occur *passim*.

gavit; uterque partem suam ecclesiarum et nobilium personarum favoribus munire curavit. Ille Alexander dictus est, juxta causæ meritum victor futurus. Iste, nudo nomine et fallaci omine, Victor dictus est, victi dedecus habiturus. Poterat sane scissura illa cito resarciri; poterat multitudini paucitas cedere atque uniri, nisi Fredericus[1] imperator, veteri odio Rollandi Alexandrum non ferens, partem Octoviani tuendam fovendamque modis omnibus suscepisset.[2] Denique suæ ditionis episcopos, scilicet Italicos et Teutonicos, præcepit Papiam convenire, tanquam ad discussionem et examen, cujusnam[3] partis merita præponderarent, re autem vera, ut Alexandri parte depressa, partem alteram approbantes, dicti Victoris præmaturam victoriam celebrarent. Partibus quoque mandavit, ut adessent, concilii suscepturæ decretum. Et dictus quidem Victor tanquam subiturus judicium affuit. Alexander vero præjudicium, quod ei sub nomine judicii parabatur, non solum caute, sed etiam libere recusavit. Itaque ex Teutonico simul et Italico regno, episcopi, imperiali jussione cum ingenti multitudine prælatorum inferioris[4] ordinis Papiæ congregati, in gratiam imperatoris, qui cum suis ducibus terribilis aderat, quæcunque causam Alexandri juvare poterant, cum pro eo nemo allegaret, vel silentio supprimentes, vel callide invertentes et corrumpentes; quod pro parte altera minus de veritate suppetebat, arte suppleverunt, et dictum Victorem, tanquam verum beati Petri successorem, sollemniter recipientes, in Alexandrum,

A.D. 1159.

The minority choose Octavian (Victor IV.).

The emperor Frederick I. supports the Anti-pope Victor.

Council of Pavia (Feb. 5, 1160).

The council, swayed by Barbarossa,

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[1] B. has here *Fledericus*.

[2] Bouquet (xiii. 104. note *b*) quotes two passages from Dodechin, showing that Frederic feared that Roland, if elected pope, would excommunicate him for his repudiation of his legitimate wife and his marriage with Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy.

[3] *cujusnam*, B.R., and, by correction, C. and S.; *cujusdam*, L.

[4] *inferioris*, B.L.S.; *et inferioris*, C.

A.D. 1160. tanquam in schismaticum et Deo rebellem, sententiam generali decreto tulerunt. Amplexus est imperator cum omni frequentia ducum et procerum acta concilii, pœnam non recipientibus comminatus. Illustres quoque Francorum et Anglorum reges modis omnibus sollicitare curavit, ut, ad perpetuandam amicitiam mutuam, sibi in hac parte concordes exsisterent. Illi vero inflexi, sententia caute suspensa, donec rei tam scrupulosæ[1] plenius veritatem agnoscerent, celebrem et ipsi, ex utroque regno episcoporum et nobilium loco et tempore congruo, conventum fecerunt.[2] Aderant a parte Octoviani duo principales ejus complices, qui ejus fuerant electores, schismatisque auctores,[3] Guido[4] scilicet Cremensis et Johannes de Sancto Martino cardinales. Nam Imarus Tusculanus[5] episcopus, manus illi execrationis ausus imponere, jam exuerat hominem. Aderant et a parte domini Alexandri tres cardinales, scilicet[6] Henricus Pisanus, Johannes Neapolitanus, Willelmus Papiensis. Surgens igitur ille Cremensis in conspectu regum et præsulum, coram universa, quæ convenerat, multitudine cleri et populi pro parte sua, et contra adversam, totis ingenii atque facundiæ viribus allegavit. Qui cum perorasset, surgens Willelmus Papiensis vir eloquentissimus, perspicuis rationibus objecta elisit; et fere quicquid ille[7] pro se dixerat in ipsum ita retorsit, ut propriis irretitus captusque sermonibus videretur. Denique in illo altercationis mutuæ quasi duello totius ita negotii veritas claruit, ut neuter ulterius princeps cunctaretur,

decides against Alexander.

Council of Toulouse, (A.D. 1161 ?)

[1] *scrupulosæ*, B.C.R.S.; *scrupulosam*, L.

[2] See preface (p. xiv.) to Bouquet, vol. xiii. See also Labbé, vol. 21, cols. 1153–8. There were separate councils according to R. de Monte at Neuf Marché and Beauvais, apparently before the joint council at Toulouse. R. de Diceto and Gervase place the acknowledgment by the two kings in 1160.

[3] *schismatisque auctores*, B.C. R.S.; om. L.

[4] *Guido*, B.L.S.; *Guydo*, C.

[5] *Ymarus Thusculanus*, in C.

[6] *scilicet et*, C., *et* perhaps intended to precede *Willelmus*.

[7] *ille*, C.L.S.; om. B.

repudiata parte Octoviani, dominum Alexandrum recipere, et cum regnis sibi subditis ei de cetero in iis quæ Dei sunt tanquam patri[1] parere. Prænominatis ergo schismaticis cum confusione et dedecore discedentibus, principes et pontifices nostri, lata sollemniter in schismaticos excommunicationis sententia, solverunt conventum. Interim dominus papa Alexander in terra regis Siciliæ, cujus fideli favore fruebatur, tutus consistens, opportunitatem transeundi in Gallias præstolabatur. Parebatque ei, in iis quæ ad curam spectant[2] pastoralem, totus orbis Latinus, exceptis provinciis Alemannicæ ditionis. Imperator enim ex privata simultate semel in reprobum[3] sensum datus, et vel a ratione vinci indecorum imperatoriæ reputans majestati, multo tempore distulit palmam dare perspicuæ veritati.[4] A.D. 1161 (?)

Cap. X.

De expeditione Tolosana,[5] et de illustri comite Barcinonensi.

Memorabilis rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, anno regni sui septimo,[6] in partes Gasconiæ duxit exercitum: cujus famosæ expeditionis causa hæc erat. Comes Pictavensis, qui et dux[7] Aquitanus, avus scilicet Alianoris,[8] prius Francorum, postea vero Anglorum reginæ, cum esset in expensis profusior, et propriorum reddi- A.D. 1159–60.

Henry's expedition against Toulouse, A.D. 1160 (1159).

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[1] *patri*, C.L.S.; *papæ*, A.B.

[2] *spectant*, B.C.R.S.; *spectabant*, L.

[3] *reprobum*, B.C.R.S.; *improbum*, L.

[4] The sequel of this narrative is given in Lib. III. c. 2.

[5] *Tolosana*, B.C.S.; *Tulosana*, L.

[6] *septimo*: (see p. 117, note 3) this would be 1160, but 1159 is no doubt the correct date.

[7] *dux*, B.L.S.; *dux erat*, C.

[8] *Alianoris*, B.C.L.S. William IX. of Aquitaine is here confused with William IV. of Toulouse, his father in-law.

A.D. 1159–60.

tuum quantalibet affluentia tantæ voragini nequaquam sufficeret, accepta a comite Sancti Egidii, viro pecunioso, pecunia copiosa, nobilem illi cum pertinentiis civitatem Tolosam apposuerat,[1] atque in fata concedens, absolvendi appositi operam ad filium transmiserat. Qui nimirum in expensarum profusione patrissans, ipse quoque liberandi pignoris in heredes transfudit negotium. Reliquit autem unicam filiam heredem, quæ cum regi Francorum Lodovico[2] nupsisset, idem rex uxoris nomine Tolosam repetiit. Comes vero Sancti Egidii nihil quidem juris obtendens, sed tamen Tolosæ totus incumbens, tandem opportunitatem nactus, regem nuptiis germanæ placavit,[3] Constantiæ scilicet, Eustachio regis Stephani filio olim nuptæ, et post mortem

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[1] *See* Bouquet (vol. xiii., p. 105, note *b*.) :—

Raimundus (inquit Willelmus Malmesb.) "Tolosam emit a germano, pluribus annis ante magni "motus viam profecto Ierosolymam." Hereditario præterea jure, seu ut vocant *substitutionis*, Guillelmo fratri eum successisse constat testimonio Bernardi S. Gemmæ Prioris, in libro tripartito de vita B. Roberti Casæ-Dei Abbatis, cujus hæc sunt verba, Dist. 2. cap. 10:—

". . . . Raymundum prius appel- "latum Sancti Ægidii comitem, "omni paterna hereditate carentem, "Casam-Dei scilicet ad limina B. "Roberti, socio uno associatum "advexit. Intrans proinde et ex- "cubans ante ejus sanctum sepul- "chrum, causam suæ necessitatis ". . . . . depromens, summo mane, "missa celebrata, hominium B. "Rotberto fecit, . . . et comitatum "Tolosanæ urbis a nullo se habere "vel tenere nisi a B. Rotberto con- "firmavit, si Deus per illum sibi "tradere disposuerit. Cujus de- "siderium non diu est dilatum; nam "ut . . . . fines . . paternos atti- "git, proceres cuncti hominium "ei fecerunt, et . . . urbem Tolo- "sanam, cæterasque provincias "quæ paterno jure ei debebantur, "uno impetu substituerunt." (au 1094.)

Si ergo pecuniam comiti Pictaviensi solvit, profecto id egit ut pacem ab eo redimeret, et eo pacto comitatum sibi assereret.

[2] *Lodovico*, B S. ; *Lodowico*, C.L.

[3] *placavit*, A.B R., and S. by correction from *placuit* ; *placuit*, C.L. Bouquet (xiii. p. 105, note *c*.) says "Anno haud citius 1153 "Constantiam regis Ludovici VII. "sororem duxit in uxorem Raimun- "dus, quippe quæ non prius Au- "gusto mense anni ejusdem priorem "maritum Eustachium amiserat. "Ruit proinde, aut certe nutat vehe- "menter, tota hæc Neubrigensis de "Tolosanæ obsidionis a Ludovico

ejus ad fratrem reversæ. Verum cum postea celebrato inter regem Francorum et uxorem ejus divortio, eadem ad nuptias regis transisset Anglorum, mota est rursum quæstio super Tolosa justis heredibus resignanda. Memorato vero comite negante, et suæ possessionis regem Francorum laudante auctorem, rex Anglorum, contracto ex universis terris suæ ditionis exercitu, Gasconiæ fines ingressus est. Invitati quoque [1] ab eo amici ut sequerentur vel occurrerent, ingentibus copiis auxerunt exercitum, præcipue comes Barcinonensis [2] vir magnus et potens, nec infra reges consistens. Sane hujus in regali magnificentia animum plusquam regalem paucis perstringere, quoniam se præbet occasio, operæ pretium videtur.

A.D. 1159-60.

Details respecting the count of Barcelona.

Illustris quidem rex Arragonum paulo ante nostram memoriam, cum haberet liberos, unum eorum piæ devotionis instinctu Christo dicatum in monasterio tonsoravit, reliquos pro tempore successores designans. Verum, præmortuis qui successuri sperabantur,[3] contigit patrem humanis novissimum rebus excedere. Veriti autem optimates et populus ne forte, nepotibus de successione contendentibus, regnum discerperetur, propere convenientes, et venienti periculo occurrentes, regis filium claustro festinanter extractum sublimaverunt in regem, regnoque disposito, ad procreandos qui succederent liberos uxorem ducere compulerunt, necessitatis obtentu excusantes excessum,

Sancho Ramirez I. of Aragon and his two elder sons dying without issue, the third son is called from the cloister to reign as Ramiro II. (A.D. 1134.)

" susceptæ causis ac circumstantiis " narratio."

[1] *quoque*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

[2] *Barcinonensis*, B.C.S.; *Barcinocensis*, L.

[3] They did not die before him, but succeeded in due order to the throne. Both, however, dying without issue, the expedient described in the text was resorted to. Ramiro marrying Agnes, daughter of William IX., duke of Aquitaine, had a daughter Petronilla, betrothed in infancy to the count Raymond-Bérenger IV. of Barcelona, and married in 1151. Ramiro the Monk returned to his cowl while his daughter was still an infant, leaving the count as regent.

A.D. 1159–60.

et necessitatem legi non esse subjectam allegantes. Denique nata est ei unica filia. Cumque regnum laudabili moderamine administrasset usque ad annos filiæ nubiles, convocatis nobilibus, et coram se sollemniter apparentibus cum universa pæne militia ditionis suæ, taliter eos est allocutus. "Parcat mihi et vobis Omni-"potens Deus, carissimi, factus sum enim[1] insipiens: "vos me coegistis. Sed numquid qui cecidit non ad-"jiciet ut resurgat? Numquid quod usurpavit infelix "necessitas, quam esse dixistis exlegem,[2] eadem ces-"sante, ratum esse debebit quod usurpatum est contra "legem? En ex me natam[3] regni habetis heredem. "Provideantur huic puellæ honorabiles nuptiæ, et "regno erit consultum. Redeat ergo monachus vester "ad regulam, et sauciam de cetero sanet conscien-"tiam." Reclamatum est ab omnibus: sed cum pium felixque propositum dissuaderi non posset, de consilio procerum juveni clarissimo, Barcinonensis[4] comitis filio, filiam despondit; regnoque illi cum filia tradito, vir memorabilis, præcipuusque mundi contemptor, pungentes conscientiæ stimulos ultra non passus, posita purpura cucullam reinduit, et regnum claustro mutavit.[5] Quibus actis suasum est juveni, ut regni insignia, id est, coronam et purpuram, sollemniter sumeret, cum regnum haberet. Negavit se ille hoc facturum, ita allegans. "Cum nullus progenitorum meorum supra "comitem fuerit, natura sum comes; qua[6] contentus, "sicut non sum melior, ita nec excellentior esse volo "quam patres mei. Ut ergo in me fortuna naturam "non superet, nomen et insignia regis omitto. Porro "ut in me etiam serviat fortuna naturæ, retento "comitis nomine regni amplitudinem et potestatem

Ramiro II. (the Monk) retires again to the cloister (A.D. 1137).

Count Raymond Bérenger IV. marrying the heiress of Aragon refuses the title of king.

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[1] *enim*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[2] *exlegem*, B.L.S.; *ex lege*, A.C.
[3] *natam*, C.L.S.; *natura*, B.
[4] *Barcinonensis*, B.C.L.S.; *Barcionensis*, B.
[5] *regnum claustro mutavit*, B.; *regnum claustro mutuavit*, C.; *regnum pro claustro mutavit*, L.; *regno claustro mutavit*, S.
[6] *qua*, B.L.S.; *quia*, C.

A.D. 1159–60.

"non respuo. Huc accedit quod regia dignitate as-"sumpta nonnullis regibus in divitiis et gloria cede-"rem. At cum mihi regni sint opes cum potestate "regia, Barcinonensi comiti nullus in mundo comes "potest æquari.[1] Proinde malo esse comitum primus, "quam regum nec septimus." Sic itaque vir mirabilis, nobili quodam regii honoris contemptu, vel allegabat vel jocabatur, cum ab amicis excellentiam induere regiam moneretur. Nec unquam vel rex vel dux, sed comes tantum Barcinonensis[2] appellari voluit, licet ducatum Provinciæ, id est, illius regionis quæ sic dicitur, et a Rhodano usque ad Italiæ fines extenditur, cum regno Arragonum possideret. Porro ejus filius post patris decessum, juxta materni prærogativam generis, a Romano pontifice in regem est sollemniter[3] consecratus. Pater vero tum propter amicitiam regis Anglorum, tum quia comiti Sancti Egidii infestus erat, cum immodicis gentis subditæ copiis, Tolosanæ, ut dictum est, expeditioni interfuit. Guilelmus quoque cognomento Trencheveil,[4] vir nobilis et potens, nonnullarum civitatum et multorum dominus castellorum, odio memorati comitis, in cujus manus, ut dicitur, ante inciderat, et de quibus ægre, ac non nisi plurima terrarum suarum parte mutilatus evaserat, cum quantis poterat viribus regi Anglorum assistebat. Idem vero comes, tanti exercitus impetum pertimescens, regis Francorum, qui uxoris suæ germanus et filiorum erat avunculus, auxilium imploravit. Qui zelando pro nepotibus, festinus adveniens, cum aliquanta militia Tolosam intravit. Quod cum innotuisset regi Anglorum, personæ regis ibidem consistentis deferens, civitatem oppugnare distulit,[5] et ad pervadendam provin-

The count of Barcelona acts with the king of England against the count of St. Gilles.

William (Raymond) Trencavel joins the allies.

The count of St. Gilles obtains the assistance of the king of France, who enters Toulouse (July).

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[1] *æquari*, B.L.S.; *coæquari*, C.

[2] *Barcinonensis*, C.L.S.; *Barcinonenscis*, B.

[3] C. repeats *est* here.

[4] This should be "Raimuudus Trencavel." Bouquet states that he was "vicecomes Carcassonensis et "Biterrensis."

[5] Cf. R. de Diceto (Rolls' ed. p. 303).

A.D. 1159–60.

Henry relinquishes the siege, but takes Cahors. Returns to Normandy (December).

ciam expugnandasque munitiones convertit exercitum. Caturcensem civitatem, quæ a se defecerat, et fines ejus cum numerosis[1] castellis deditione recepit, plurima quoque expugnavit et cepit. Quibus actis et memorato Guilelmo Trencheveil[2] munitionibus, quas illi sorte bellica comes Egidiensis[3] extorserat, redditis, Normanniam rediit.

Cap. XI.

De horrenda interfectione Willelmi Trencheveil[4] et de ultione ejus.

A.D. 1167.

Murder of Raymond Trencavel, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne (Oct. 15).

Sane quoniam de eodem Guillelmo incidenter facta est mentio, silendum non est quid in illum postea, excrescente supra modum malitia, sit a suis commissum, quam levis occasio piaculare peperit scandalum, et quam terribile subsecutum sit inauditæ ultionis exemplum. Res enim recentis memoriæ est, crebro certoque mihi comperta relatu. Idem vir nobilis et magnus, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in illa terra, cum post Tolosanam, cui interfuit, expeditionem finibus suis per circuitum fortiter defensis in pace ageret, causa exstitit, ut nepoti incursu hostium laboranti subvenire deberet. Denique ipse cum manu non parva præcedens, præcepit ut reliquus exercitus sequeretur. Erumpens ergo ex subjectis urbibus, Bederensi scilicet[5] et Carcasumensi, juventus non modica, armis animisque instructa, properabat. Contigit autem ut quidam Bederensis, numero fretus concivium, equiti cuidam non

While on an expedition a citizen of

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[1] *numerosis*, B.L.S.; *universis*, with *vel numerosis* in margin, C.

[2] *Trencheveil*, C.L.S.; *Trencheveil coadjutori suo*, by 15th cent. addition, B.

[3] *Egidiensis*, C.L.S.; *Egediensis*, A.B.

[4] *Trencheveil . . . . ejus*, C.L.; *Trenchveil et ultione ejus*, S.; *Trencheila interfectione ejus* (sic), B. As to the events of this chapter compare "Chron. Gaufridi Vosiensis." (Bouquet xii., pp. 440, 441.)

[5] *scilicet*, B.L.S.; om. C.

ignobili simul procedenti petulanter injuriam faceret, equo ejus militari, quem[1] dextrarium vocant, ablato, et ferendis in via sarcinis deputato. Eques vero toto sibi ordine equestri adjuncto in præsentia ducis acerrimam movit querelam, illatam injuriam tanquam minus damnosam, sed multum dedecorosam exaggerans. Dux vero[2] placare volens equites, constanter pronuntiantes quod protinus ab exercitu discederent, si Bederenses concivis sui impunitate gauderent, auctorem injuriæ conquerentium tradidit voluntati. Quem illi levi quidem[3] sed aliquantulum[4] indecora mulctatum pœna tanquam dehonestatum, et de cetero sine honore victurum dimiserunt. Unde vehementer indignata est civitas Bederensis, quasi unius civis[5] vel exiguum dedecus universitatem suam maculasset. Itaque universi cives domino suo ab expeditione reverso lacrimabiliter supplicarunt,[6] ut aliquo honesto et competenti modo subjectæ et devotæ sibi urbis dedecus aboleret. Ille, ut erat animi satis[7] civilis, clementer humiliterque respondit; seque id, quod necessitate placandi equites actum[8] fuisset, libenter emendaturum, et civibus optimis die certo, prout ipsi dictarent, sollemniter satisfacturum spopondit. Quam illi sponsionem amplexi, interim quieverunt. Statuto die sponsor cum amicis[9] et subjectis nobilibus affuit, et basilicam cathedralem ingressus, civium, quibus præsente episcopo satisfaceret, præstolabatur adventum. Illi quoque furore callide dissimulato[10] mox affuere, loricas et sicas veste superducta tegentes. Procedensque in medium qui injuriam fecerat, et ignominiam reportarat; " Ecce ego," inquit,[11]

A.D. 1167.

Béziers misbehaves, and is suitably punished.

The citizens of Béziers ask that their disgrace may be removed.

Trencavel agrees to a meeting for reconciliation.

The citizens come to the appointed place, the cathedral of Béziers, with concealed weapons.

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[1] *quem*, A.B.L.S.; *quoniam*, (?) C.
[2] *vero*, B.L.S.; *autem*, C.
[3] *quidem*, C.L.S.; *quidam*, B.
[4] C. has *aliquantum*.
[5] C. omits *civis*.
[6] *supplicarunt*, B.S.; *supplicarent*, L.; *supplicant*, C.
[7] *satis*, L.S.: om. B.; *jam satis*, C., omitting *animi*.
[8] *actum*, C.L.S.; *factum*, A.B.
[9] *amicis*, B.S.; *amicis suis*, C.L.
[10] *dissimulato*, C.L.S.; *simulato*, B.
[11] *ecce ego, inquit*, L.S.; *ecce, inquit, ego*, A.B.C.

A.D. 1167. "homo infelix et vitæ pertæsus, eo quod mihi con-"tigerit cum dedecore vivere. Dicat nunc, si placet, "dignatio tua, domine mi, utrum velit quod circa me "actum est emendare; ut velim possimque vivere." Tunc vir memorabilis satis civiliter et citra personam dominantis; "Paratus sum," inquit, "super hoc præsen-"tium procerum consilio civiumque arbitrio stare, "sicut spopondi." Rursus ille; "Bene," inquit, "dice-"res,[1] si alicujus exhibitione honoris a te nostra posset "confusio compensari.[2] Nunc autem cum tu ea men-"sura, qua mensus es nobis dedecus, non possis reme-"tiri honorem; nostram non aliter quam tuo necesse "est sanguine maculam expiari." Quo dicto, arma cives nequissimi, quæ occuluerant[3] retexerunt, et impetu facto coram sacro altari, frustra se pæne usque ad periculum proprium objectante episcopo,[4] dominum proprium cum amicis et proceribus suis lanistæ crudelissimi peremerunt.[5] Quod cum esset omnibus per circuitum gentibus in stuporem et sibilum, cunctis factum detestantibus, et pestiferæ conspirationis collegio merita imprecantibus,[6] finitimi principes, arbitrantes obsequium se præstare Deo, si gentem malignam abraderent, ad faciendam vindictam in nequissimos[7] junctis se viribus præparabant. Illi quoque urbis suæ firmitate confisi, quantis se poterant apparatibus muniebant. Ac primo quidem Romanus pontifex, tanti sceleris atrocitate audita, scelestissimos illos ecclesiasticæ male-

The viscount is insulted and slain in the cathedral.

The pope places Béziers

[1] *bene, inquit, diceres*, B.L.S.; *diceres bene, inquit*, C.

[2] B. has *compensa*.

[3] *occuluerant*, B.L.S.; *occultaverant*, C.

[4] *episcopo*, B.C.R.S.; *domino episcopo*, L.

[5] Bouquet (xiii., p. 107, note *b*.) quotes "ex chronico Nemausensi" the following, "Anno MCLXVII. "Trencavellus Dominica die in "ecclesia S. Mariæ Magdalenæ a "Bitterensibus est interfectus." By comparison with the *Necrologium* of Carcassonne and that of Cassan this passage gives the date Oct. 15, 1167.

[6] *imprecantibus*, B.L.S.; *inspectantibus*, C.

[7] *nequissimos*, C.L.S.; *nequissimis*, B.

dictionis jaculo perculit, rex vero Arragonum[1] cum aliis principibus consequenter maledictam urbem obsedit. Cumque obsidio aliquamdiu traheretur, et obsidentibus, tum propter loci munimina, tum quia obsessis pro anima res erat, fere inextricabilis capiendæ urbis difficultas obsistere videretur; obsessores moræ prolixioris pertæsi, ne non aliquid ageretur, cum illis, quos expugnare non poterant, pacem fecerunt, eosque domino proprio, illius scilicet quem mactaverant filio,[2] pactis pro satisfactione paternæ necis intervenientibus, reconciliaverunt. Fœderibus ergo celebratis, soluta est obsidio, et bene actum videbatur. Quod utique divina, sicut postea claruit, ordinatione provenit, ut scilicet viribus inexpugnabiles congruam ad interitum acciperent talionem, qui dominum modestum et bonum artificiosa perfidia crudeliter trucidarant, et eodem illis modio[3] remetiretur a filio, quo ipsi prius patri mensi fuerant. Nam cum forte eidem filio postmodum joco vel serio improperatum esset a quodam nobili, quod perfidis civibus exstincti patris sanguinem vendidisset, ita est sauciatus hoc verbo, ut fidem servare perfidis indecorum reputans, doloris simul et pudoris urgentibus stimulis, festinam paternæ necis quocunque modo meditaretur ultionem. Mox illustri Arragonum regi mysterium conceptæ intentionis aperiens, accepit ab eo, tanquam in adjutorium contra comitem Egidiensem, non parvas gentis ferocissimæ copias.[4] Et præcurrens ad civitatem Bederensem fama prius arte dispersa, quod idem comes[5] irruptionem moliretur, civibus supplicavit, ut, quoniam regis Arragonum amicitia et[6] ope gaudebat, mox affuturis Arragonibus hospitium in transitu exhibentes, justæ commutationis modum,

A.D. 1167.

Under interdict, and the king of Aragon besieges the city, but in vain.

The citizens agree to accept the son of Raymond as their ruler.

Their new viscount, smarting under a taunt, determines to avenge his father's death. (A.D. 1169.)

Aragonese soldiers are by artifice assembled in Béziers, and at a signal rise

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[1] *Arragonum*, C.L.S.; *Arroganum*, B.

[2] *quem mactaverant filio*, A.B.C.; *filio quem mactaverant*, L.S.

[3] *modio*, B.L.S.; *modo*, C.

[4] *parvas . . . . . copias*, B.L.S.; *parvam . . . copiam*, C.

[5] *comes*, B.L.S.; *comes ante*, C.

[6] *et*, B.L.S.; *vel*, C.

A.D. 1169. victualia ministrando, servarent. Venientes ergo Arragones, non quidem simul ne essent terribiles, et eorum ingressus nequaquam pacificus videretur, sed pauci et pauci per dies aliquot, tandem omnes ingressi urbem repleverunt. Cumque per totam essent in hospitiis civitatem, repente ad signum ab arce datum, raptis armis impetum in proximos quosque cives fecerunt, totumque urbis populum furore insatiabili fere in momento peremerunt. Sic maledictus ille populus justa Dei ordinatione [1] mercedem, quam oportuit, perfidiæ suæ et crudelitatis accepit. Porro ministri ultionis pro mercede sui operis, habitationem, ut dicitur, acceperunt perfidorum cædibus civium expiatæ civitatis. His explicitis, quoniam pro tempore memorabilia videbantur, ad susceptæ historiæ seriem redeamus.

and kill the citizens.

Cap. XII.

Quomodo reges, Francorum scilicet [2] et Anglorum, dissidentes pacificati sunt.

A.D. 1160-1.

Peace with France (May, 1160).

Igitur rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, ab expeditione Tolosana reversus, brevi quievit. Sequenti enim anno, qui fuit regni ejus octavus,[3] ira inter ipsum et regem Francorum tempore ejusdem expeditionis concepta, causis ingravescentibus, tandem quasi parta erupit, et subditarum quietem provinciarum motibus turbulentis corrupit. Denique immensis hinc inde exercitibus congregatis, in terrarum confiniis, castris e regione dispositis, uterque princeps cum suis copiis

[1] *justa . . . ordinatione*, B.L.S.; *juxta . . . ordinationem*, C.

[2] *scilicet*, B.L.S.; om. A.C.

[3] This according to Newburgh's reckoning (see p. 117, note 3) would be 1161. A treaty with France was made in May 1160, and confirmed in the following October, according to R. de Monte, and the outbreak to which both authors refer, and which was caused by prince Henry's marriage (see p. 159), concluded with a truce about June 1161.

consistebat, quia et progredi periculosum, et retrogradari indecorum videbatur: paratiorque erat uterque vel princeps vel exercitus, propter bellici discriminis ambiguos exitus, prœlium excipere quam inferre. Viri ergo pacifici hanc hæsitationem seminandæ pacis occasionem habentes, ne duorum zelus et superbia hominum strages innoxiorum parerent populorum, pie cauteque[1] sategerunt,[2] et quoniam sub clypeo, ut dici solet, melius plerumque procedit pacis negotium, principibus quod prius ne audire quidem sustinebant, sine magna difficultate persuasum est. Itaque pacificati sunt principes, et populi rediere in sua. A.D. 1160–1.

Sane eodem anno Theobaldus[3] Cantuariensis archiepiscopus decessit, cui Thomas, cancellarius regius, anno sequenti[4] successit. Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury dies (April 18, 1161). He is succeeded by Thomas Becket.

Cap. XIII.

De hæreticis Angliam ingressis,[5] et quomodo exterminati sunt.

A.D. 1160.

Iisdem diebus erronei quidam venerunt in Angliam, ex eorum, ut[6] creditur, genere quos vulgo Publicanos vocant. Hi nimirum olim ex Gasconia incerto auctore habentes originem, regionibus plurimis virus suæ perfidiæ infuderunt. Quippe in latissimis Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italiæ, Germaniæque provinciis tam multi hac peste infecti esse dicuntur, ut, secundum prophetam, multiplicati esse super numerum videantur. Denique cum a præsulibus ecclesiarum, et principibus provin- A band of heretics come over to England. Account of the Publicani (Alôigenses). Ps. iii. 1.

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[1] *cauteque*, C.L.S.; *que*, om. B.

[2] A.B. and S. have *satagerunt*.

[3] *Theobaldus*, B.L.S.; *Thedbaldus*, C.

[4] This would be the ninth year and therefore according to our author's mode of reckoning A.D. 1162, the correct date. Becket was consecrated June 3, 1162.

[5] *ingressis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *ut*, B.C.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1160. ciarum in eos remissius agitur, egrediuntur de caveis suis vulpes nequissimæ, et prætenta specie pietatis, seducendo simplices, vineam Domini Sabaoth, tanto gravius quanto liberius, demoliuntur. Cum autem adversus eos igne Dei fidelium zelus succenditur, in suis foveis delitescunt, minusque sunt[1] noxii; sed tamen occultum spargendo virus nocere non desinunt. Homines rusticani et idiotæ, atque ideo ad rationem hebetes, peste vero illa semel hausta ita imbuti, ut ad omnem rigeant disciplinam, unde rarissime contingit eorum aliquem, cum e suis latebris proditi extrahuntur, ad pietatem converti. Sane ab hac et ab[2] aliis pestibus hæreticis immunis semper exstitit Anglia, cum in aliis mundi partibus tot pullulaverint hæreses. Et quidem hæc insula cum, propter incolentes Britones, Britannia diceretur, Pelagium in oriente hæresiarcham futurum ex se misit, ejusque in se processu temporis errorem admisit: ad cujus peremptionem Gallicanæ ecclesiæ pia provisio semel et iterum beatissimum direxit Germanum. At ubi hanc insulam expulsis Britonibus natio possedit Anglorum, ut non jam Britannia sed Anglia diceretur,[3] nullius unquam ex ea pestis hæreticæ virus ebullivit: sed nec in eam aliunde, usque ad tempora regis Henrici secundi, tanquam propagandum et dilatandum introivit. Tunc quoque, Deo propitio, pesti, quæ jam irrepserat, ita est obviatum, ut de cetero hanc insulam ingredi vereretur. Erant autem, tam viri quam feminæ, paulo amplius quam triginta, qui, dissimulato errore, quasi pacifice huc ingressi sunt, propagandæ pestis gratia, duce quodam Gerardo, in quem omnes tanquam præceptorem ac principem respiciebant. Nam solus erat aliquantulum literatus: ceteri vero sine literis et idi-

England had up to that date been free from heretics.

Britain had had its Pelagius, but England had ever been orthodox.

Thirty men and women from Germany, under one Gerard, come to England concealing

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[1] *sunt*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[2] *ab*, L.S.; om. B.C.
[3] *diceretur*, B.L.S.; *diferetur*, (?) C., perhaps *diseretur* for *diceretur*.

otæ, homines plane impoliti et rustici, nationis et linguæ Teutonicæ. Aliquamdiu in Anglia commorantes, unam tantum mulierculam venenatis circumventam susurriis, et quibusdam, ut dicitur, fascinatam præstigiis, suo cœtui aggregarunt. Non enim diu latere potuerunt, sed quibusdam curiose indagantibus quod peregrinæ essent sectæ, deprehensi, comprehensi, tentique[1] sunt in custodia publica. Rex vero nolens eos indiscussos vel dimittere vel punire, episcopale præcepit Oxoniæ concilium congregari. Ubi dum sollemniter de religione convenirentur: eo, qui literatus videbatur, suscipiente causam omnium, et loquente pro omnibus, Christianos se esse, et doctrinam Apostolicam venerari responderunt. Interrogati per ordinem de sacræ fidei articulis, de substantia quidem superni medici recta; de ejus vero remediis, quibus humanæ infirmitati mederi dignatur, id est, divinis sacramentis, perversa dixerunt; sacrum baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes, atque unitati catholicæ, quam hæc divina imbuunt subsidia, ausu nefario derogantes. Cumque sumptis de scriptura sacra divinis urgerentur testimoniis, se quidem ut instituti erant credere, de fide vero sua disputare nolle responderunt. Moniti, ut pœnitentiam agerent, et corpori ecclesiæ unirentur, omnem consilii salubritatem spreverunt. Minas quoque pie prætentas, ut vel metu resipiscerent,[2] deriserunt, verbo illo Dominico abutentes: "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter jus- "titiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum." Tunc episcopi,[3] ne virus hæreticum latius serperet præcaventes, eosdem publice pronuntiatos hæreticos corporali disciplinæ subdendos catholico principi tradi-

A.D. 1166.

Their opinions and intentions.

They make one convert.

They are seized and brought before the council of Oxford (1166).

On examination their heresy becomes apparent.

They refuse to abjure, and are condemned.

Matth. v. 10.

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[1] *tentique*, C.L.S.; *tenti*, A. and, by alteration, B.

[2] *resipiscerent*, C.L.S.; *respicerent*, B.

[3] *episcopi*, B.L.S.; *ipsi*, C.

A.D. 1166. derunt. Qui præcepit hæreticæ infamiæ characterem frontibus eorum inuri, et, spectante populo, virgis coercitos urbe expelli, districte prohibens ne quis eos vel hospitio recipere,[1] vel aliquo solatio confovere[2] præsumeret. Dicta sententia, ad pœnam justissimam ducebantur gaudentes,[3] non lentis passibus præeunte magistro eorum et canente, "Beati eritis cum vos "oderint homines." In tantum deceptis a se mentibus seductorius abutebatur spiritus. Illa quidem muliercula, quam in Anglia seduxerant, metu supplicii[4] discedens ab eis, errorem confessa reconciliationem meruit. Porro detestandum illud collegium, cauteriatis frontibus, justæ severitati subjacuit: eo qui[5] primatum gerebat in eis, ob insigne magisterii, inustionis geminæ, id est, in[6] fronte et circa mentum, dedecus sustinente. Scissisque cingulo tenus vestibus publice cæsi, et flagris resonantibus urbe ejecti, algoris intolerantia, hiems quippe erat, nemine vel exiguum[7] misericordiæ impendente,[8] misere interierunt.[9] Hujus severitatis pius rigor non solum a peste illa, quæ jam irrepserat, Angliæ regnum purgavit, verum etiam[10] ne ulterius irreperet, incusso hæreticis terrore, præcavit.[11]

Matth. v. 11.

Their convert deserts.

They are branded, and their clothes being cut away to the waist, they are driven forth and die of cold.

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[1] *recipere*, C.L.S.; *respicere*, A.B.

[2] *confovere*, B.L.S.; *fovere*, C.

[3] *gaudentes*, C.L.S.; B., by 15th cent. alteration, *gradientes*.

[4] *supplicii*, C.L.S.; *supplici*, B.

[5] *qui*, B.L.S.; *quod*, C., corrected in margin to *qui*.

[6] *in*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[7] B. reads, by 15th cent. alteration, *exiguam*.

[8] *impendente*, C.L.S.; *gentilitate*, A.B.

[9] *interierunt*, C.L.S.; *interierint*, A.B.

[10] *etiam*, C.L.S.; *et*, B.; om. A.

[11] See R. de Coggeshall (Rolls ed., p. 122) as to these heretics. Cf. R. de Diceto (I. p. 318) under date 1166. The Annals of Tewkesbury, p. 49, confirm Diceto, and there is the additional fact that Henry was absent from England throughout the year 1160. This chapter is therefore misplaced.

Cap. XIV.[1]

De concilio Turonis celebrato ab Alexandro papa.

A.D. 1162–3.

Pope Alexander III. sails from Apulia to France (April 1162).

Eodem tempore Romanus pontifex Alexander de Apulia liquido itinere venit in Gallias. Cum enim illi, ut superius dictum est, præter terras Alemannicæ subditas potestati, totus, in his quæ Dei sunt, orbis pareret Latinus, vias tamen obsidentibus Octoviani[2] satellitibus, et vel eum adeuntes, vel ab eo redeuntes, si qui forte inciderent, rebus omnibus spoliatos carcerali quoque custodiæ mancipantibus, rarissimus ad illum poterat esse accessus, unde nec ipse poterat ut volebat et decebat fungi summo sacerdotio, et longius Apostolicæ brachium extendere potestatis. Hujus rei gratia mari se credens, et cum ingenti periculo provincias adiens occidentis, occurrentibus ei præsulibus et nobilibus regionum Gallicanæ ecclesiæ, multorum desideriis exspectatus advenit. Magni quoque Francorum et Anglorum reges adventum ejus sollemni honorantes occursu, qualia regiam decebant magnificentiam, insigni exsuli hilariter obsequia præstiterunt. Principum itaque favore adjutus, convocatis ecclesiarum pastoribus,[3] in octavis Pentecostes generale concilium cum multa gloria Turonis celebravit, anno ab incarnatione Domini[4] M°C°LX°III°. Hujus[5] autem concilii decreta nostræ duximus historiæ inserenda.

Council of Tours, (May 19, 1163).

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[1] B. omits the whole of this chapter; A. has the whole of it written in the margin.

[2] As to the blockade see Jocelin de Brakelond (Camden Soc. ed., p. 35).

[3] *pastoribus*, A.L.S.; *prælatis*, C.

[4] *Domini*, L.S.; *Verbi*, A.C.

[5] A. omits *hujus . . . inserenda.*

Cap. XV.[1]

Decreta Turonensis concilii.

A.D. 1163.

Priests not to be appointed to benefices for money.

"Quoniam enormis quædam consuetudo in quibusdam " locis, contra sanctorum patrum institutiones, invaluit, ut " sub annuo pretio sacerdotes ad ecclesiarum regimen sta- " tuantur, ne id fiat modis omnibus prohibemus; quia dum " sacerdotium sub hujusmodi venali mercede disponitur, " ad æternæ retributionis præmium consideratio non ha- " betur.

No money to be required of persons entering religion.

Sale of monastic offices forbidden.

No fees to be exacted for burials, baptisms, or administration of extreme unction.

"Non satis utiliter avaritia redarguitur in populo, si ab " iis, qui in clero constituti videntur, et præcipue qui " contempto seculo religiosorum nomen profitentur et regu- " lam, modis omnibus non cavetur. Prohibemus igitur ne " ab iis qui ad religionem transire voluerint, aliqua pecu- " nia requiratur; neve prioratus aut capellaniæ quælibet " monachorum aut clericorum annua distractione vendan- " tur; neque ab eo, cui regimen ipsarum committitur, pro " earum commissione ullum pretium exigatur. Hoc autem " Simoniacum esse, sanctorum patrum auctoritas manifesto " declarat. Unde quisquis hoc de cetero præsumpserit at- " tentare, partem se cum Simone non dubitet habiturum. " Pro sepultura quoque, vel chrismatis et[2] olei sacri per- " ceptione, nulla cujusquam pretii venalitas intercedat, neque " sub obtentu alicujus consuetudinis reatum suum aliquis " tueatur: quia diuturnitas temporis non minuit peccata, " sed auget.

Deans and certain others forbidden to become deputies of bishops or archdeacons for money.

"Quia in quibusdam episcopatibus decani vel archipres- " byteri ad agendas vices episcoporum vel archidiaconorum, " et terminandas causas ecclesiasticas sub annuo pretio sta- " tuuntur, quod ad sacerdotum gravamen, et subversionem " judiciorum non est dubium redundare: id ulterius fieri " districtius prohibemus. Quod qui fecerit, removeatur a " clero. Episcopus quoque, qui hoc in sua diœcesi susti- " nuerit, et ecclesiastica judicia sua patitur dissimulatione " perverti, canonica districtione plectatur.

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[1] A. and B. omit the whole of this chapter. Labbé, vol. 21, cols. 1176–81, gives these canons somewhat differently, and arranges them thus:—5, 6, 7, 1, 2, 4, 3, 8. He also includes two not recorded by Newburgh.

[2] *et*, L.R.S.; *vel*, C.

"Majoribus ecclesiæ beneficiis in sua integritate manenti- A.D. 1163.
"bus, indecorum nimis esse videtur, ut minores clericorum
"præbendæ recipiant sectionem. Idcirco ut sicut in magnis, ita quoque in minimis membris suis firmam habeat ecclesia unitatem, divisionem præbendarum aut dignitatum[1] permutationem fieri prohibemus.

Subdivision of prebends, &c. forbidden.

"Plures clericorum et, quod mærentes dicimus, eorum quoque qui præsens seculum professione, votis, et habitu reliquerunt, dum communes usuras manifestius damnatas exhorrent, commodata pecunia indigentibus possessiones eorum in pignus accipiunt, et provenientes fructus[2] percipiunt ultra sortem. Idcirco generalis concilii decrevit auctoritas, ut nullus amodo constitutus in clero, vel hoc vel aliud usuræ genus exercere præsumat; et si quis hactenus alicujus possessionem, data pecunia, sub hac specie in pignus accepit, si sortem suam deductis expensis de[3] fructibus jam percepit, absolute possessionem restituat debitori. Si autem aliquid minus habet, eo recepto possessio libere ad dominum revertatur. Quod si post hujusmodi constituta in clero quisquam exstiterit, qui detestandis usurarum lucris insistat, ecclesiastici officii periculum patiatur; nisi forte beneficium ecclesiæ fuerit, quod redimendum ei hoc modo de manu laica videatur.

Of monasteries holding estates in pledge beyond the time of the satisfaction of the debt.

"In partibus Tolosæ damnanda hæresis dudum emersit, quæ more cancri paulatim se ad vicina loca diffundens, per Gasconiam et alias provincias quamplurimos jam infecit; et dum in[4] modum serpentis infra suas revolutiones absconditur, quanto serpit occultius, tanto gravius Dominicam vineam in simplicibus demolitur. Unde episcopos et omnes Domini sacerdotes in illis partibus commorantes invigilare præcipimus, et sub interdictione anathematis prohibere, ne, ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæresis sectatores, receptaculum quisquam eis in sua terra præbere, aut præsidium[5] impertiri[6] præsumat: sed nec in venditione et[7] emptione aliqua cum eis communio habeatur, ut, solatio humanitatis amisso, ab errore viæ

Course prescribed to be taken with the Albigensian heretics.

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[1] L. has *dignitatem*.
[2] *fructus*, C.; *fructibus*, L.S.
[3] *de*, C.S.; *ex*, L.
[4] *in*, L.S.; om. C.
[5] *præsidium*, L.R.S.; *præsidia*, C.
[6] *impertiri*, C.L.S.; the form generally used in mediæval Latin.
[7] *et*, L.R.S.; *vel*, C.

A.D. 1163. "suæ resipiscere compellantur. Quisquis autem contra hæc "venire tentaverit, tanquam particeps iniquitatis eorum "anathemate feriatur. Illi vero si deprehensi fuerint per "catholicos principes custodiæ mancipati, omnium bonorum "amissione mulctentur. Et quoniam de diversis partibus "in unum latibulum crebro conveniunt, et præter consen- "sum erroris nullam cohabitandi causam habentes, in uno "domicilio commorantur: talia conventicula et investigentur "attentius, et si inventa fuerint, canonica severitate vetentur.

Tithes and disposal of benefices not to be granted to laymen.

"Quamvis grave nimis, et divini animadversione judicii "dignum habeatur, quod laici quidam quod sacerdotum est "in ecclesiasticis rebus usurpant: majorem tamen[1] incitat "formidinem ac dolorem, quod fomitem sui erroris in ipso "clero dicuntur aliquotiens invenire, dum quidam fratrum "et coepiscoporum nostrorum aliorumque[2] prælatorum eccle- "siæ decimas eis, et ecclesiarum dispositiones indulgent; et "in devia eos mortis impellunt, qui prædicatione eorum ad "vitæ viam fuerant revocandi, de quibus Dominus dicit per "prophetam, 'peccata populi mei comedunt, et ad iniquitatem Osee, "provocant animas eorum.' Unde statuimus, ut quisquis ali- iv. 8. "cui laico in seculo remanenti ecclesiam decimamve conces- "serit, a statu suo, tanquam arbor quæ inutiliter terram "occupat, succidatur, et donec emendetur,[3] ruinæ suæ jaceat "dolore prostratus.

Monks forbidden to leave their convents to study law or physic.

"Non magnopere antiqui hostis invidia infirma ecclesiæ "membra præcipitare laborat; sed manum mittit ad desi- "derabilia ejus, et electos quosque nititur supplantare, di- "cente scriptura, 'escæ ejus electæ.' Multorum siquidem Job., "casum operari se reputat, ubi pretiosius aliquod membrum xxxix. 29. "ecclesiæ sua fuerit calliditate detractum. Inde nimirum "est quod se in angelum lucis more solito transfigurans, "sub obtentu languentium fratrum consulendi corporibus, et "ecclesiastica negotia fidelius pertractandi, regulares quos- "dam ad legendas leges et confectiones physicas ponderan- "das de claustris suis educit. Unde, ne sub hac occasione "spirituales viri mundanis rursum actionibus involvantur, "et in interioribus ex eo ipsi deficiant, ex quo se aliis "putant in exterioribus providere, de præsentis concilii as- "sensu statuimus, ut nullus omnino post votum religionis, "post factam in aliquo religioso loco professionem, ad physi-

[1] *tamen*, C.S.; om. L.
[2] *aliorumque*, C.S.; *aliorum*, L.
[3] *emendet*, C.L.S.

"cam, legesve mundanas legendas permittatur exire. Si vero exierit, et ad claustrum suum infra duorum mensium spatium non redierit, sicut excommunicatus ab omnibus evitetur, et in nulla causa, si patrocinium præstare voluerit, audiatur. Reversus vero, in choro, in capitulo, in mensa, et ceteris, ultimus fratrum semper exsistat, et, nisi ex misericordia forte Apostolicæ sedis, totius spem promotionis amittat." A.D. 1163.

Cap. XVI.

De ira regis in venerabilem Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum.

A.D. 1163.

Quarrel between the king and Becket.

Anno concilii ejusdem [1] nondum emenso, adversus venerabilem Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ira regis Anglorum excanduit, multorum et enormium malorum, quæ secuta noscuntur, infame principium.

Personal history of Thomas Becket.

Sane idem Thomas Lundoniis oriundus, vir acris ingenii et competentis eloquii, vultu et moribus elegans, in efficacia quoque rerum agendarum nulli secundus, in obsequio Teobaldi,[2] Cantuariensis archiepiscopi præcipuus fuerat, et ab eo archidiaconatum Cantuariensem, Rogerio [3] ad Eboracensis ecclesiæ pontificatum assumpto, acceperat. Cum autem Henricus secundus, defuncto Stephano, ut superius expositum est, regnum hereditarium suscepisset, virum coram regibus stare idoneum sibi deesse non passus, sublimitatis regiæ fecit cancellarium. Quo officio insignis, tam egregie seculo militavit, tanti apud principem amoris simul et honoris prærogativam obtinuit, ut conregnare videretur. Fluxerant ei anni aliquot in militia seculari, cum ecce [4] ecclesiasticæ militiæ ascribitur, et voluntate regia Can-

Elected archbishop (May 24, 1162).

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[1] *concilii ejusdem*, L.S.; *ejusdem concilii*, A.B.C.

[2] *Teobaldi*, S.; *Theobaldi*, B.C.L.

[3] *Rogerio*, L.S.; *Rogero*, B.C.

[4] *ecce*, B.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

A.D. 1163. tuariensis ecclesiæ pontificatum sortitur. Mox tanti honoris quantum esset onus pia et sagaci consideratione permetiens, habitu et moribus ita repente mutatur, ut quidam dicerent, "Digitus Dei[1] est hic:"[2] alii autem, "Hæc mutatio dexteræ Excelsi." Secundo promotionis suæ anno concilio Turonensi interfuit: ubi,[3] ut dicitur, pontificatum, minus sincere et canonice, id est, per operam manumque regiam, susceptum, pungentis conscientiæ stimulos non ferens, secreto in manus[4] domini papæ resignavit.[5] Qui factum approbans, pastoralem illi sarcinam ecclesiastica manu rursus imposuit, et in homine scrupuloso turbatæ conscientiæ læsionem sanavit. Regressis a concilio ad proprias sedes episcopis, regnum et sacerdotium in Anglia disceptare cœperunt, et facta est turbatio non modica super prærogativa ordinis clericalis. Regi quippe circa curam regni satagenti, et malefactores sine delectu[6] exterminari jubenti, a judicibus intimatum est, quod multa contra disciplinam publicam, scilicet furta, rapinæ, homicidia, a clericis sæpius committerentur, ad quos scilicet laicæ non posset jurisdictionis vigor extendi. Denique ipso audiente declaratum dicitur, plusquam centum homicidia intra fines Angliæ a clericis sub regno ejus commissa. Quamobrem acri motu turbatus,[7] in spiritu vehementi contra malefactores clericos posuit leges, in quibus utique zelum justitiæ publicæ habuit, sed fervor immoderatior modum excessit. Sane hujus immoderationis regiæ nostri temporis episcopos tantum respicit culpa, quantum ab eis processit et

Exod. viii. 19. Ps. lxxvi. 11.

Is said to have resigned his office of archbishop into the hands of the pope when present at the Council of Tours (May, 1163), and to have received it again from his hands.

The king insists on punishing criminous clerks by the common law.

The author blames the manner rather than the matter of the king's decrees.

[1] *Dei*, B.C.R.; om. L.S.

[2] *hic*, as in the Vulgate, L.R. and, by correction, S.; *hoc*, A.B.C.

[3] *ubi*, B.L.R.S.; *ibi*, C.

[4] *manus*, by correction, L.; *manu*, B.C.S.

[5] Canon Robertson ("Life of Becket," p. 69) discusses this assertion, saying, "If such a resignation "ever took place, it was, as we shall "see hereafter [p. 341] most pro"bably at a later time," *i.e.* at Sens.

[6] *delectu*, L.R.S.; *defectu*, C.; *dilectione*, B.

[7] *turbatus*, C.L.S.; *turbatus est*, A.B.

causa. Cum enim sacri præcipiant canones, clericos, non solum facinorosos, id est, gravioribus irretitos criminibus, verum etiam leviorum[1] criminum reos, degradari; et tot millia talium, tanquam innumeras inter pauca grana paleas, ecclesia Anglicana contineat; quantos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio privari? Nempe episcopi, dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitiis corrigendis resecandisque invigilant, arbitrantur obsequium se præstare Deo et ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos, pro officii debito, canonicæ vigore censuræ coercere vel nolunt vel negligunt, contra publicam tueantur disciplinam. Unde clerici, qui, in sortem Domini vocati tanquam stellæ in firmamento cœli positæ, vita et verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes per impunitatem agendi quodcunque libuerit licentiam et libertatem, neque Deum, cujus judicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reverentur; cum et episcopalis circa eos sollicitudo sit languida, et seculari eos jurisdictioni sacri eximat ordinis prærogativa. Cum ergo memoratus princeps in paleas sacri ordinis, id est, facinorosos clericos vel discutiendos vel puniendos, nova quædam statuta fecisset; in quibus, ut dictum est, modum non tenuit; ita ea demum credidit fore rata, si episcoporum essent consensu roborata. Convocatis ergo, ad eliciendum quocunque modo consensum, episcopis, ita omnes usque ad unum vel pellexit blanditiis vel infregit terroribus ut regiæ voluntati cedendum parendumque[2] putarent, et novarum legum illarum[3] conscriptioni propria sigilla apponerent. Usque ad unum dico,[4] nam solus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus flexus non est, sed ad omnem impulsum stetit

A.D. 1164.

How many recent clerical evil-doers have been deprived of their functions?

The bishops, concerned for the defence of church privileges, protect criminous clerks from the law.

Constitutions of Clarendon (Jan. 25, 1164).

Henry obtains the assent of all the bishops but one to his decrees.

Becket alone refuses, and

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[1] *leviorum*, B.L.S.; *levium*, C.

[2] *parendumque*, C.L.S.; *parendum*, A.B.

[3] *illarum*, B.L.S.; *illorum*, C.

[4] The weight of evidence is against Newburgh here, see Hist. Quadril. lib. i., cap. xxi.; and R. de Diceto (Twysden, col. 536).

A.D. 1164. immobilis. Tunc vero tanto vehementius regius in eum furor efferbuit, quanto ipse regali magnificentiæ ratione dati et accepti magis obnoxius videbatur. Unde rex cœpit ei gravis exsistere, occasionibus eum undecunque exquisitis pulsare, eorum, quæ olim in regno cancellarius fecerat, rationem [1] exposcere. Ille intrepida libertate respondit, se, expleta seculari militia, ecclesiæ a principe cui militaverat absolute fuisse dimissum, nec debere in se per occasionem magis quam veritatem vetera replicari. Cumque in dies regii furoris causæ ingravescerent, eo die, quo plenius responsurus erat objectis, sollemne illud officium de beato Stephano, scilicet, "Sederunt principes, et adversum me loque-"bantur, et iniqui persecuti sunt me," jussit coram se in celebratione sacrificii sollemniter decantari. Mox curiam ingressus est, crucem argenteam ante se portari solitam manu propria bajulans, volentibusque [2] quibusdam episcoporum, qui aderant, ministerium portandæ ante metropolitanum proprium crucis suscipere, abnuit, nec alium in illo conventu publico crucis bajulum quantumcunque rogatus admisit. His tanquam excandescentis jam furoris fomitibus rege supra modum inflammato, sequenti nocte clam profugiens transfretavit; et susceptus honorifice a rege, nobilibus, episcopisque [3] Francorum, pro tempore ibidem consedit. Rex vero [4] Anglorum in absentem irrationabiliter sæviens, et plusquam deceret principem, effrenato furori indulgens, indecora satis et miserabili ultione omnem ejus propinquitatem Angliæ finibus exturbavit. Sane cum plerique soleant in iis, quos amant et laudant, affectu quidem propensiori, sed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur approbare; plane ego [5] in viro illo venerabili,

Margin notes: rouses the king's fury. — Council of Northampton (Oct. 7). Henry begins to persecute Becket. Asks an account of his acts as chancellor. — Becket's reply. — Becket retreats to France (Nov. 2). — The king banishes Becket's family. — The author blames Becket's

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[1] *rationem*, B.L.S.; *item rationem*, C.

[2] *volentibusque*, B.L.S.; *volentibus*, C.R.

[3] *nobilibus episcopisque*, B.L.S.; *nobilibusque episcopis*, C.

[4] *vero*, B.C.S.; *quidem*, L.

[5] C. has *ergo*.

ea, quæ ita ab ipso[1] acta sunt ut nulla exinde proveniret utilitas, sed furor[2] tantum accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noscuntur,[3] laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut[4] nec in beatissimo Apostolorum principe, arcem jam Apostolicæ perfectionis tenente, quod gentes suo exemplo Judaizare coegit; in quo eum[5] Doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet eum constet laudabili hoc pietate fecisse.

A.D. 1164.

Useless obstinacy, albeit arising from laudable zeal.

Cap. XVII.

De morte Octoviani, et reditu[6] Alexandri papæ in Italiam.

A.D. 1164.

Death of Victor IV. (Octavian) the antipope (April). His successor, the antipope Paschal III., elected (April 22, 1164). Pope Alexander III. returns to Italy (A.D. 1165).

Alexandro papa post Turonense concilium in Galliis commorante, Octovianus, qui Victor[7] est dictus, extrema sorte devictus, initi certaminis victoria caruit: et nominis, quod tanquam pro omine a suis acceperat, fallax præsagium non implevit. Tunc Johannes de Sancto Martino, imperiali favore adjutus, Guidonem[8] Cremensem collegam suum loco devicti Victoris instituit, ne victi viderentur. Alexander vero, annis aliquot in Galliis demoratus, repatriandi iter arripuit, apud Montem-pessulanum transitum in Apuliam opperiens[9] opportunum. Imperator vero non quiescens, secretis, ut dicitur, literis, et promissis amplissimis apud Willelmum ejusdem urbis dominum agere stu-

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[1] *ipso*, B.L.S.; *eo*, C.

[2] *furor*, B.C.; *fervor*, L.R.S.

[3] An ancient hand has written in the margin of C. about this point "*Nota errorem.*"

[4] *sicut*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *eum*, B.C.S.; *ei*, L.

[6] C. has *de reditu.*

[7] S. originally read *qui et Victor*, but *et* is expuncted.

[8] *Guidonem*, C.L.S.; *Gwidonem*, B.

[9] *opperiens*, C.L.S.; B. now reads *reperiens*, and A. agrees.

A.D. 1165. duit, ut proderet hospitem. At vir memorabilis integræ fidei est inventus, et insignem hospitem decentissime honoravit. Cumque cardinales cum multitudine virorum fortium, qui[1] Ierosolymam properabant, dromonem Hospitalis Ierosolymitani ingressi, dominum papam mox secuturum, jactis in alto mari anchoris, exspectarent, contigit dromonem a prætereunte classe piratica infestari. Advehebatur pontifex ex triremi ingressurus dromonem: sed conspectis circa dromonem piratis, mox remis retortis in Magolonensem[2] se portum recepit. At viri virtutis qui erant in dromone tam viriliter restitere piratis, ut confusos nec illæsos abigerent.[3] Itaque dominum papam non ulterius cum periculo exspectandum censentes, curso prospero fines regni Siculi attigerunt. Idem vero pontifex post dies aliquot in alia navi mari se credidit, et secundis in Apuliam flatibus, nullo prorsus obsistente, transivit; susceptusque reverenter a rege Siculo et quotquot ejus[4] erant ditioni subjecti, cives quoque[5] Romanos cum optimatibus post modicum devotos et subditos habuit. Verum arcta erat via quæ ex[6] Transalpinis regionibus ad eum ducebat;[7] eo quod satellites vel imperatoris vel pseudo-papæ itinera sollicite observarent. Porro imperator, ecclesiasticæ pacis diruptor, pace et integritate diu non est gavisus imperii. Cum enim in Longobardos insolentius ageret, illi jugum Alemannicum non ferentes, in libertatem se pristinam receperunt, et restaurato a propriis civibus ex dispersione confluentibus, cum sociarum auxilio civitatum, Mediolano,[8] urbem quoque Alexandriam, ex nomine domini papæ, cui se devotos esse gaudebant, sic vocatam, apto loco ad excipiendos primos Alemannorum

Pope Alexander, in danger from pirates, retreats to Maguelonne (September).

He reaches Sicily and from thence goes to Apulia.

Restoration of Milan (A.D. 1167).

The building of Alessandria (A.D. 1168).

[1] C. has *quæ*.

[2] *Magolonensem*, B.C.L.S. See Bouquet (xv. 846) for Alexander's letter as to this. The Pisan ships made no attack.

[3] C. has *ambigerent*.

[4] *ejus*, om. B.

[5] *quoque*, B.L.R.S.; *vero*, C.

[6] *ex*, C.L.S.; om. A.B.

[7] C. has *ducebant*.

[8] B. now reads *Mediolane*.

Italiam ingredientium impetus, condiderunt. Quam dum imperator in ipsis ejus primordiis obsidione cinxisset, expugnare non potuit; sed exercitu frustra fatigato discedens, hostium contra se fiduciam auxit. A.D. 1165.

Cap. XVIII.

De secunda expeditione Walensi, et de acquisitione Britanniæ.

Anno quo papa Alexander, ut dictum est, relictis Galliis Apuliam remeavit, orta inter[1] regem Anglorum et Walenses[2] rediviva simultas, utrique parti res magni negotii fuit. Cum enim eadem gens effrenis et effera, rupto petulanter fœdere, obsidibusque, quos in fidem pactorum dederant, periculo expositis, vicinos[3] Anglorum fines turbarent; rex immenso tam ex regno quam ex transmarinis provinciis exercitu adunato, vi magna hostium fines ingressus est. Et quidem propter inextricabiles locorum difficultates non poterat longius progredi: sed tamen eorum frenatis excursibus ita coarctavit inclusos, ut pacem meditari cogerentur. A.D. 1165. Second expedition against Wales.

Rex vero, ex Walliis reducto exercitu, ad alia vocatus negotia, transfretavit, filiorum propensiori opera futuræ promotioni et ditationi prospiciens. Quippe ex Alianore[4] quondam Francorum regina susceptis quatuor filiis, Henricum natu majorem regni Anglici et ducatus Normannici, cum Andegavensi comitatu, successorem relinquere; Ricardum vero Aquitaniæ,[5] et Having forced the Welsh to sue for peace Henry turns his attention to the distribution

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[1] *inter*, B.C.; *in*, S.L.

[2] *Walenses*, C.L.S.; *Wallenses*, B.

[3] *vicinos*, B.L.R.S.; *vicinosque*, C.

[4] *Alianore*, B.L.S.; *Alienore*, C.

[5] *Aquitaniæ*, B.L.S.; *Equitanniæ*, C.

A.D. 1164–71.

of governments among his sons. Marriages proposed for his daughters. Henry's designs with regard to Brittany.

Gaufridum Britanniæ præficere cogitabat: quartum, natu minimum, Johannem "Sine Terra" agnominans. Tres quoque ex eadem habens filias, unam regi Hispaniæ, alteram vero Saxoniæ[1] duci despondit: tertiam, nondum nubilem, regi Siciliæ suo tempore comparem daturus. Verum quod de præficiendo Britanniæ filio cogitabat, artibus viribusque paulatim præparabat, cum necdum suæ Britanniam ditioni subjugasset. Jam tamen duos in eandem provinciam præparatos habebat ingressus; civitatem scilicet Nammatensem et castrum Dolense. Contigit autem Conanum comitem Richemundensem, qui majori Britanniæ parti dominabatur, in fata concedere, relicta ex sorore regis Scottorum herede unica filia. Quam rex innubilem impuberi filio[2] copulans, et[3] omne jus puellulæ in propriam potestatem redegit.[4] Erant autem in Britannia quidam nobiles tantarum opum et virium, ut nullius unquam dignarentur subjacere dominio. His a multis retro annis dominandi libidine, atque impatientia serviendi hostiliter contendentibus, præclara olim regio ita dilacerata atque attenuata erat, ut in ea ex agris opulentissimis vastæ solitudines viderentur. Cumque a potentioribus inferiores premerentur, regis Anglorum auxilium expetentes, ejus se ditioni spontanee subdiderunt. Quibus ille prompto animo et profusis opibus auxilium subministrans, ipsos quoque potentes, qui et magnitudine virium, et vix accessibilium natura locorum eatenus inexpugnabiles credebantur, subegit;[5] sicque in brevi Britannia tota potitus, turbato-

Turbulence of the Breton nobles.

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[1] *Saxoniæ*, C.L.S.; *Saxaniæ*, B.

[2] *filio*, B.C.S.; *filio Galfrido*, L. by interlineation.

[3] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] The order of events was this:—(i.) Henry's assistance given to Conan, 1164; (ii.) marriage of Constance with Geoffrey in 1166; (iii.) Conan's abdication, submission of some of the nobles and intervention of Louis in 1167; (iv.) submission of remaining nobles, Henry's outrage on the Comte de Vanne's daughter, and renewed insurrection; and (v.) peace at the meeting of the kings and Becket (6 Jan. 1169).

[5] *subegit*, B.L.R.S.; *subjecit*, C.

ribus vel expulsis vel domitis, eam in cunctis finibus suis ita disposuit atque composuit, ut, populis in pace agentibus, deserta paulatim[1] in ubertatem verterentur. A.D. 1164–71.

Cap. XIX.

De transitu piissimi regis Scottorum Malcolmi.[2]

A.D. 1165.

Affairs of Scotland. Death of Malcolm IV. (Dec. 9).

Circa hæc tempora Christianissimus rex Scottorum Malcolmus, cujus in præcedenti libro, prout decuit, fecimus mentionem, Christo vocante hominem exuens, angelis sociandus,[3] regnum non perdidit, sed mutavit. Hominem angelicæ sinceritatis inter homines, et tanquam terrenum quendam angelum, quo dignus non erat mundus, cœlestes angeli rapuerunt e mundo. Homo in ætate tenera mirandæ gravitatis, in regni fastigio atque deliciis stupendæ et sine exemplo puritatis, ex corpore virgineo raptus est ad Agnum, Virginis filium, secuturus Eum quocunque ierit.[4] Raptus est plane morte immatura, ne mirandam ejus innocentiam atque munditiam, cum regnantem juvenem tot in contrarium occasiones et incentiva impellerent, mutaret malitia temporum. Verum quia mirabili animæ inter virtutum insignia non deerant sordiusculæ ex regiis deliciis, quas tamen tolerabat magis quam amabat, contractæ; cœlitus emissa, non immissa, visitatio paterno eum verbere castigavit, et excoxit[5] ad purum. Quippe annis ante exitum aliquot ita elanguit, et præter alia incommoda gravissimis extremitatum, id

His marvellous purity of life.

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[1] *paulatim* in margin of C., and marked for insertion before *verterentur*.

[2] *Malcolmi*, C.L.S. *Malcolme*, A.B.

[3] *sociandus*, A.B.; *sociandis*, L.R.S.; *sociandum*, C. Hearne prints *sociandis*.

[4] *ierit*, C.L.S.; *erit*, B.

[5] *excoxit*, B.C.S.; *extorsit*, L.

A.D. 1165. est, capitis et pedum, laboravit doloribus, ut quilibet peccator pœnitens tantis videretur flagellationibus ad liquidum posse purgari. Unde manifestum est, puerum Dei, non tantum ad purgationem, verum etiam ad probationem et incrementa virtutum, vel augmenta meritorum, severitatem paterni verberis[1] fuisse expertum. Dormivit ergo cum patribus suis, et sepultus est apud Dunfermelin, locum scilicet in Scotia sic dictum, regum sepulturis insignem. Successit ei frater ejus Willelmus, fratre[2] quidem, ut videbatur, ad usum mundi aptior, sed in regni administratione fratre[3] felicior non futurus. Mundo quo frater simpliciter, ideoque pie et laudabiliter, uti voluit, non simpliciter ipse uti sed frui intendens, et fratris modum in temporali excellentia multum conatus transcendere, ejus tamen gloriam nunquam potuit vel in temporali felicitate æquare. Nuptiarum bono, cui frater piæ sanctæque præposuit virginitatis optimum, multo quidem tempore uti, vel ad sobolem, vel pro remedio incontinentiæ distulit. Tandem vero salubrioris instinctu consilii de transmarinis cujusdam primarii filiam duxit uxorem: et de cetero non solum vixit correctius,[4] verum etiam regnavit felicius.

William the Lion succeeds.

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[1] B. has *vbis*.
[2] *fratri*, B.C.L.S.
[3] *fratri*, B.C.L.S.
[4] *correctius*, B.L.S.; *correctus*, C.

Cap. XX.[1]

De vita et morte[2] *venerabilis heremitæ Godrici.*

Eisdem fere temporibus venerabilis heremita Godricus de Finchala, loco scilicet solitario sic dicto, non longe a civitate Dunelmensi super amnem Wirum, annis maturus et meritis, in Domino requievit. In quo plane cernere erat pium altumque Divinitatis beneplacitum, ad confusionem nobilium et magnorum ignobilia mundi et contemptibilia eligentis. Cum enim idem esset rusticanus et idiota, nihilque sciens nisi Christum Jesum[3] et hunc crucifixum, quod utique quantumlibet obtunsis et rudibus in fidei cunabulis traditur, in ingressu adolescentiæ fervere cœpit spiritu, totisque hausit ossibus ignem, quem Dominus misit in terram. Denique cœlibatum, quem[4] Deo gratum et sublimis esse meriti forte didicerat, devote amplexus, in cibo et potu, in verbo et gestu, homo simplicissimus decentem cum gravitate servare modum studuit. Velox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquendum, et in ipsa locutione parcissimus. Flere cum flentibus doctus; ridere autem cum ridentibus, et jocari cum jocantibus nescius. Juvenis sepulchrum Dominicum in multa paupertate, nudis incedendo pedibus, visitavit, reversusque ad propria, locum aptum ubi Deo serviret sollicite quæsivit. Accepitque in somnis, sicut aiunt, ut locum Finchala dictum quæreret, ibidem Deo volente victurus. Quem tandem post multam lustrationem inveniens, ibidem cum sorore paupercula primum, et ea defuncta solus multo tempore habitavit. Vitæ autem ejus districtio fere supra humanum modum

A.D. 1170.

Life of St. Godric.

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[1] B. omits the whole of this chapter; A. has it. St. Godric was born at Walpole in Norfolk, and died May 21, 1170. His life by Reginald of Durham has been printed for the Surtees Society.

[2] *morte,* L.S.; *transitu,* C.; A. has a wrong rubric.

[3] *Jesum,* A.L.R.S.; om. C.

[4] *quem,* A.L.S.; *quoniam,* C.

A.D. 1170. fuisse perhibetur. Memoratus quidem locus silvosus est, sed modicam habet planitiem, quam ille fodiendo exercens, fructum ab ea[1] annuum, quo utcunque sustentaretur, exigebat, et quantulamcunque poterat advenientibus exinde caritatem exhibebat. Sane Dunelmensi ecclesiæ mundissimæ vitæ merito commendatus, talem sancti collegii ibidem consistentis circa se providentiam meruit, ut senior monachus, ad hoc ipsum deputatus, crebro cum visitaret, tum pro instructione simplicitatis rusticæ, tum etiam ut sacri participatione mysterii certis diebus muniretur. Diu quidem hostis antiquus hominem simplicissimum insidiando circumvenire tentavit; ubi autem insidias vidit minus procedere,[2] simplicitatem saltem[3] præstigiis curavit illudere. Sed vir Dei hostiles et caute vitavit insidias, et constanter sprevit derisitque præstigias, beatissimo maxime Johanne Baptista, quem specialiter diligebat, crebrius eum visitante, informante, et roborante. Hoc modo usque ad decrepitam vivens[4] ætatem, paucis ante mortem annis senilium defectu membrorum decubuit, et diebus plurimis quantulascunque in moribundo corpore vitæ reliquias modico lactis haustu servavit. Denique illis diebus videre eum et alloqui merui, in oratorio proprio juxta sacrum altare jugiter decumbentem. Cumque toto fere corpore quodammodo præmortuus videretur, expedite tamen loquebatur, illa ori ejus familiaria verba, scilicet "Patrem et Filium "et Spiritum Sanctum," sæpius replicans. In vultu autem ejus mira quædam dignitas et decus insolitum visebatur. Transiit ergo senex et plenus dierum, idemque loci spatium ejus nunc tenet corpus, quo vel orans procumbere, vel ægrotus decumbere consueverat vivus.

The saint is regularly visited by the monks of Durham.

When on his death-bed is visited by the author.

St. Godric buried in his own hermitage.

[1] *ea*, A.L.S.; *eo*, C.

[2] *procedere*, A.L.S.; *præcedere*, C.

[3] *simplicitatem saltem*, L.S.; *simplicitates autem*, C.; A. has *simplicitati saltem*; R. omits *saltem*.

[4] *vivens*, A.L.R.S.; *veniens*, C.

Cap. XXI.[1]

De quodam Ketello, et gratia divinitus illi collata.

A.D. 1154–70?

Legend of Ketell, a rustic of Farnham in Yorkshire, who was endowed with the power of seeing and conversing with devils.

Fuit et alius quidam vir venerabilis[2] in nostra, id est, Eboracensi provincia, apud vicum Farneham dictum, nomine Ketellus. Homo quidem[3] rusticanus, sed innocentiæ et simplicitatis merito singularem quandam a Domino gratiam consecutus. De quo sane plura memorabilia veracium mihi virorum innotuere relatu, e quibus pauca retexam. Idem, cum esset adolescens, quodam die jumento sedens domum revertebatur ex agro. Et ecce in via plana[4] jumentum tanquam in aliquod offendiculum impingens, in terram decidit, et sessorem dejecit. Qui exsurgens vidit duos quasi Æthiopes parvulos sedentes in via, et corridentes. Intellexit esse dæmones non amplius permissos nocere, et gaudentes se vel modicum nocuisse. Accepitque tale donum a Deo, ut ab illa die et deinceps dæmones haberet conspicabiles, et quantumcunque latere cuperent, eum latere non possent. Intuebatur eos, ut homines vel in modico læderent oberrantes, et si forte vel modicum læsionis intulissent, exsultantes. Denique hujus sibi gratiæ conscius, cœpit Deo devotus exsistere; orandi studio crebrius secretum captare; esu carnium et lineis abstinere; ecclesiam, quantum vacare[5] poterat, ita frequentare, ut ingrederetur primus et ultimus egrederetur. Cœlibatum amplexus de nuptiis non curavit, usque ad finem vitæ in obsequio positus cujusdam Adæ clerici de Farneham. Accepti muneris secretum tenuit, nec suas passim voluit revelare visiones, nisi forte sacerdoti tanquam confessionis mysterium, aut domino suo, sive alicui sapienti arctius

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[1] B. omits the whole of this chapter; A. retains it.

[2] *venerabilis*, L.R.S.; *memorabilis*, A.C.

[3] *quidem*, A.C.S.; *quidam*, L.

[4] *plana*, A.C.L.R.S.; Hearne prints *plane*.

[5] *vacare*, A.C.L.S.; om. R.

A.D. 1154–70? inquirenti. Stabat aliquando præ foribus domini sui circa solis occubitum, viditque decem dæmones, quorum unus major erat, et præesse ceteris videbatur, vicum ingressos. Cumque uno in loco subsisterent, et secum confabularentur, tanquam secreto deliberantes de agendis, major ille cœpit mittere binos per domos. Ipse autem cum uno fores, ubi stabat Ketellus, ingredi voluit. Tum ille, "In nomine," inquit, "Christi "interdico vobis januæ hujus ingressum, et moram "in vico isto: revocate socios vestros, et abite velo"citer." Paruere inviti, sacri nominis adjurationem non ferentes, et suas molitiones ab homine animadversas dolentes. Item vidit aliquando dæmones transeuntes cum carro diligenter clauso, et audiebatur foris gemitus inclusorum; porro illi ridebant. Tum ille ad eos, nam solebat impavidus cum hujusmodi spiritibus miscere sermonem, "Quid est," inquit, "hoc?" Et illi, "Animas," inquiunt, "peccatrices deceptas captasque[1] "a nobis ad loca pœnalia ducimus: illæ gemunt, et "nos ridemus. Te quoque nobis tradi optamus, ut "etiam super te, cum hostis noster sis, gratulantius "rideamus." Tunc[2] ille, "Abite," inquit, "malignis"simi; risus vester in luctum vertatur." Contigit autem eum[3] aliquando eorundem pæne hostium sævitiam experiri. Fessus ex agrario opere domum reversus, dum somno gravaretur, sacri se signaculi nequaquam impressione munivit. Dormienti loco solito soli astitere duo dæmones, sævi nimis atque terribiles, et excitatum apprehendentes; "Euge," inquiunt, "Ketelle, "incidisti in manus nostras: infestos sentire habes, "quos provocare minime timuisti, quorum mysteria "totiens prodidisti." Ille subito casu attonitus, nomen Christi invocare et signare se voluit, nec valuit. Manus enim et lingua ejus tenebantur, ne sacri se vel

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[1] *captasque*, L.S.; *raptasque*, C.; *deceptasque*, omitting *captas*, A.

[2] *Tunc*, L.S.; *tum*, A.C.

[3] *eum*, A.L.S.; *cum*, C.

signi vel nominis munimine regio tueretur. "Noli," inquiunt, "Ketelle, frustra conari: manum linguam-"que tuam ligavimus, ut nihil tibi adversum nos "valeat suffragari." Cumque ita de illo triumphare viderentur, et malum, quod ei facere cogitabant, verbis minacibus atque insultatoriis prævenirent, repente juvenis splendidus bipennem manu ferens introiit, stansque in medio, bipenni molliter digito tacta sonitum ingentem dedit. Quo sonitu exterriti[1] dæmones, relicto de quo triumphare cœperant homine, diffugerunt. Tum[2] accedens juvenis, quem ejusdem hominis angelum fuisse credo; "Ketelle," inquit, "negligentia "tua pæne te periclitari nunc fecit. Cave ne ulterius "te inveniant insidiantes tibi hostes inermem."

A.D. 1154–70?

Dicebat autem idem Ketellus esse quosdam dæmones magnos, robustos, et callidos, multumque nocivos si relaxentur a superiori potestate, quosdam vero parvos ac despicabiles, impotentes viribus et sensu hebetes, omnes tamen pro modulo suo infestos hominibus, multumque lætari, si vel parum illis molestiæ inferant. Vidisse se quosdam tales sedentes secus vias, et facientes offendicula transeuntibus, petulanterque ridentes, cum vel hominem vel jumentum ejus pedes atterere facerent, et maxime si homo, hoc ipsum jumento imputans, maledicto in jumentum calcaribusve sæviret. Porro si homo vel modice turbatus nomen ederet Salvatoris, ut est quorundam consuetudo valde laudabilis, tristes et confusi fugiebant. Aiebat quoque se aliquando[3] domum potationis ingressum vidisse hujusmodi dæmones in specie simiarum, singulos potatoribus singulis in scapula sedentes, illisque potantibus spuentes in phialas, hominumque vecordiam petulanti gestu et ludicris motibus irridentes. Cumque inter potandum preces ex more indicerentur, et nomen Sal-

[1] *exterriti*, A.L.S.; *territi*, C.
[2] *Tum*, A.C.S.; *tunc*, L.
[3] *aliquando*, A.L.R.S.; om. C.

A.D. 1154–70?

vatoris insonaret, exterriti exsiliebant, virtutem sacri nominis non ferentes, sed mox, residentibus ad phialas rusticis, rursus introibant sessionem priorem cum motibus solitis repetentes. Sane hic,[1] cui tanta divinitus collata est gratia in animadvertendis nequam spirituum actibus atque insidiis, annis vitæ suæ in multa innocentia et sinceritate expletis, dormivit in Domino, sepultusque est apud Farnaham.[2]

Cap. XXII.

De diutina vacatione ecclesiæ Lincolniensis.

A.D. 1167–82.

Death of Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln (Jan. 26). The revenues of the see are seized by the king, and the bishopric remains vacant for nearly 17 years. A prophecy that it would never again be filled seems for a time to be true. Election of Geoffrey,

Anno regni Henrici secundi quartodecimo,[3] qui fuit a partu Virginis $M^{us}C^{us}LX^{us}VII^{us}$, mortuus est Robertus, ecclesiæ Lincolniensis antistes,[4] Alexandri successor; redactoque in fiscum episcopatu, vacavit pastorali providentia eadem ecclesia per annos fere decem et septem, id est, ab anno ejusdem regis quartodecimo usque ad tricesimum, ita ut aliquis in ea ulterius pontificaturus tepide crederetur; maxime propter verbum cujusdam conversi de Tama a decessu prænominati episcopi constanter pronuntiantis, nullum ulterius fore ecclesiæ Lincolniensis episcopum. Is enim, ut dicitur, cum propter religiosæ conversationis meritum, et multorum quæ similiter prædixerat eventum, spiritu prophetico pollere videretur, a pluribus in fidem receptum est, quod nec in ea re falleretur.[5] At hæc[6] post modicum fides mutare[7] visa est, Gaufrido, regis filio naturali, in gratiam ejusdem regis, ad memoratæ ecclesiæ pontificatum electo. Cum autem ille

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[1] C. has *huic*.

[2] *Farnaham*, L.S.; *Farneham*, C.; *Farnham*, A.

[3] See note 3, p. 117, as to Newburgh's reckoning.

[4] *antistes*, B.L.R.S.; *episcopus*, C.

[5] *a . . . falleretur*; this passage is in the margin of C., and has been partly cut away.

[6] *At hæc*, B.C.S.; *ad hæc*, L.

[7] *nutare*, B.C.L.S.; *mutare*, R.

amplissimis contentus redditibus, ut liberius vacaret deliciis, canonicæ consecrationis tempus protraheret, ovesque dominicas nesciens pascere, et doctus tondere, multo tempore Lincolniensi ecclesiæ sub electi nomine incubaret, memorati viri verbum in multorum animis ad fidem cœpit reserpere.[1] Quod utique post modicum fortius movit plurimos, cum rex pœnitentia ductus, quod delicatum juvenem, et tanti honoris apici minus congruentem, carnali affectu ita promovere voluisset, eo tandem ad refutandum jus et nomen electi prudenter inducto, episcopatum rursus in fiscum reduxisset. At illius vel prænuntiationis,[2] vel opinionis mendacium sequenti est tempore declaratum, ut suo loco narrabitur.

A.D. 1167–82.

the king's natural son (A.D. 1173).

Geoffrey resigns (Jan. 6, 1182.)

Cap. XXIII.

De duabus expeditionibus Amalrici regis Ierosolymitani in Ægyptum.

Circa idem tempus Amalricus rex Ierosolymorum invitatus a rege Babylonis, Christianam militiam duxit in Ægyptum, quæ nunc terra Babylonis vulgo[3] dicitur: non illius sane vetustissimæ Babylonis,[4] de qua scripturæ sacræ loquuntur, quæ[5] prima post diluvium in terra Chaldæorum a Nino[6] et Semiramide condita, plusquam mille annis orientis obtinuit principatum, et olim diruta, desertaque nunc dicitur; sed cujusdam Ægyptiæ civitatis, cui, ut legitur, Cambyses rex Persarum in subacta Ægypto a se conditæ nomen indidit

A.D. 1164–7.

First expedition of Amalric, king of Jerusalem, into Egypt.

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[1] *reserpere*, B.L.R.S.; *respicere*, C.

[2] *prænuntiationis*, C.L.S.; *pronuntiationis*, B.; Hearne prints *pronuntiationis*, but the word in the text is used by Tertullian in the sense of *a prediction*.

[3] *vulgo*, B.L.S.; *a vulgo*, C.

[4] *vulgo . . . Babylonis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *quæ*, C.L.S.; *qui*, B.

[6] *a Nino*, B. has *animo*.

A.D. 1164-7.

Noureddin's army under Shiracouh invades the territory of the Fatimite Caliph.

The vizir of the Fatimite Caliph solicits aid from the king of Jerusalem.

Expedition of Amalric to Egypt.

Babylonis.[1] Hujus autem expeditionis causa hæc fuit. Turci,[2] gens callida et bellicosa, sub rege Noradino regnum affectantes Ægypti, eo quod Ægyptii opulentia quidem clari, sed armis minus acres viderentur, duce Saracone, principe militiæ ejusdem regis, viro in rebus bellicis experientissimo, clandestinum per extremos Christianorum fines transitum[3] arte moliti, Ægyptiis se provinciis immersere, captisque vel deditis in brevi civitatibus aliquot, regi Babylonis terribiles intolerabilesque fuere. Qui cum videret eos virtute Ægyptia arceri abigique[4] non posse, regis Christiani Sarracenus postulavit auxilium, multam de cetero devotionem cum certo et annuo pollicens vectigali. Mox ille, ut erat magnanimus, regno disposito, et parte militiæ ad excipiendos Noradini impetus, si forte interim irrumpere niteretur, deputata, cum parte reliqua Christiani exercitus Ægyptum ingressus, junctis sibi regis Babylonici copiis, Saraconem cum Turcis in quadam civitate obsedit, et tandem coarctatos atque infractos Ægypti finibus expulit, concesso revertentibus[5] in terram suam transitu libero per fines Christianos. Dum hæc in Ægypto agerentur, Noradinus non quievit, et quietem simulans arte et dolis plus nocuit. Denique quendam[6] ex nostris laudatæ fidei et fortitudinis virum, cui urbis[7] nostræ hostium finibus oppositæ, quæ nunc Belinas[8] dicitur, olim Cæsarea Philippi dicebatur, cura et custodia commissa erat, auro corruptum ad suas partes traduxit: quo immittente[9] Turci latenter civitatem ingressi neminem quidem peremerunt, sed expulsis cum episcopo Christianis, novo urbem præsidio munierunt. Hujus casus adver-

[1] Now Cairo.

[2] *Turci*; B. has *Turri* here.

[3] *transitum* in C., interlined before *per extremos*.

[4] *abigique*, B.L.S.; *ambigique*, C.

[5] *revertentibus*, A.B.C.; om. L.R.S.

[6] C. has *quandam*.

[7] *urbis*, C.L.S.; *urbi*, (?) B.

[8] *Belinas*, C.L.S.; *Bellinas*, B. (Paneas).

[9] C. has *innitente*.

sitas regis ex Ægypto revertentis animum saucians, triumphantis gloriam denigravit. Post annos vero[1] aliquot Turcorum fortiores sæviores que copiæ non tam dominandi libidine, quam vindicandæ repulsionis suæ stimulis incitatæ, duce rursum Saracone regni Ægyptii intima penetrarunt. Ad quorum ingressum Babylonici regis fiducia omnis elanguit, unde mox per legatos, verbis ad deprecandum compositis, Christiani regis opem solitam flagitavit. Qui mox, regno cautius disposito, cum peditum equitumque ingentibus copiis Ægyptum ingressus, juncto sibi Ægyptio exercitu, Turcos aggredi statuit. Qui astute belli discrimen declinantes, in solitudines refugerunt. Persequentibus eos Christianis, Paschalis occurrit sollemnitas. Unde castris positis super fluvium clarissimum Nilum, sacratissimæ diei cum gaudio sollemnia peregerunt. Cumque eis carnium pro ejusdem diei lætitia modicus esset apparatus, de supernæ provisionis beneficio res memorabilis contigit. Sicut enim ab ipsis accepimus qui interfuere, cum Christianus exercitus, in castris pro sacræ diei reverentia excubans, ministerio sacerdotum cibos sumpsisset cœlestes, repente grex maximus aprorum suumque silvestrium ex vicinis locis erumpens palustribus castra irrupit. Tum viri virtutis gladiis et lanceis pro venabulis usi quantos voluere non solum escæ studio, sed etiam pro deliciis mactavere. Agentes ergo gratias insperati muneris Largitori, ejusdem gratissimæ venationis tantam copiam habuere, ut ex illius diei reliquiis in cibos crastinos et diei tertiæ jumenta onerarent. Mane profecti persequendis hostibus insistebant. Verum cum pedestres copiæ lassarentur, rex, eisdem subsistere jussis, cum equitatu properabat. Quod ubi hostilis exercitus dux callidissimus comperit, occurrendum ei prœlioque decertandum putavit, certam sibi de ab-

A.D. 1164–7.

Second expedition of Amalric (A.D. 1166–7).

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[1] *vero*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

A.D. 1164–7. sentia pedestrium turmarum victoriam pollicens, eo quod ipse equitatu longe numerosiore præstaret. Itaque commissum est prœlium atrox nimis et cruentum, quod ab hora diei septima protractum est usque in vesperum. Uterque exercitus, alacritate simul et numero minoratus, in castra se recepit, amne medio interlabente discreta, cujus vadum Christiani caute præoccupaverant ad transmeandum. Nocte vero rex principibus convocatis damna deplorat, majorem exercitus partem abesse causatus, docet bellum a fatigatis et sauciis non debere mane repeti, sed absque strepitu revertendum esse ad socios. Quod cum omnibus placuisset, nocte intempesta cum silentio per viam, qua venerant, abiere. Hoc ipsum et ab hostibus factum est, metu et cautela non dispari. Et[1] Turci quidem in Alexandriam se receperunt. Christianus vero equitatus pedestribus est copiis redditus. Rex autem refecto exercitu, auctusque viribus, obsedit Alexandriam; qua tandem post multarum experimenta difficultatum per deditionem potitus, Turcos iterum regno Babylonico expulit, et cum ingenti gloria ad propria remeavit.

Battle of Babaïn (18 March, 1167).

Capture of Alexandria.

Cap. XXIV.

De discordia et reconciliatione regis[2] Francorum et regis[3] Anglorum.

A.D. 1169.

Anno regni Henrici secundi sextodecimo,[4] ipse et rex Francorum, cum jam diuscule fuissent[5] discordes, mediantibus viris pacificis, pacis iterum inter se jura firmarunt. Illius autem discordiæ causa hæc fuit.[6]

Peace with France (Jan. 6). Cause of the war thus concluded.

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[1] *et*, L.S.; *sed*, C.; om. B.
[2] *regis*, C.L.S.; *ejus regis*, B.
[3] *regis*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[4] See p. 117, note 3.
[5] *fuissent*, B.L.R.S.; *essent*, C.
[6] An error, see p. 159, note 5.

Rege olim Stephano[1] tumultibus Anglicis occupato, comes Andegavensis invasit obtinuitque Normanniam, præter Gisorcium et duo alia quasi appendentia castella, quæ in potestatem regis Francorum cesserunt. Hanc juris Normannici diminutionem processu[2] temporis ejusdem comitis filius, rex scilicet Anglorum Henricus secundus, non patiens, arte magis quam viribus in hac parte vidit utendum. Denique per virum industrium, Thomam scilicet cancellarium suum, egit apud regem Francorum, ut filia ejus ex filia regis Hispanici, quæ nupserat ei post Alianorem, primogenito suo Henrico daretur in conjugem, munitionibus illis in dotem cedentibus, quæ tamen a Templariis tanquam in sequestro custodirentur,[3] donec pueri, qui nondum per ætatem nuptias contrahere poterant, suo tempore nuptialiter convenirent; rege Anglorum interim utriusque pueri habente custodiam. Verum idem rex aliquot annis elapsis productioris moræ impatiens, inter eosdem pueros nuptias celebravit præmaturas, et a Templariis castella recepit. Quamobrem sævientibus Francis, et ipsum quidem prævaricationis, Templarios vero proditionis accusantibus, ad lites et bella ventum est. Sed crebris experimentis edocti ejusdem regis potentiæ vim inferri[4] non posse, ira paulatim defervescente, tandem, pactis quibusdam mediantibus, acquieverunt ut fieret pax, et facta est pax; non quidem solida, sed temporalis, ut postea claruit.[5] Nempe memorati duo reges nunquam diu inter se quievisse noscuntur, populis hinc inde plecti assuetis quicquid illi per superbiam delirassent.

A.D. 1169.

To recover castles taken by the king of France from Stephen, Henry arranges that the French king's daughter, when of proper age, shall marry prince Henry, bringing the castles as dower. These meanwhile to be held by the Templars. King Henry unduly hastens the marriage (Nov. 2, 1160), and obtains the castles.

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[1] *olim Stephano*, B.R.S.; *autem Stephano olim*, L., with *autem* doubtfully expuncted; *autem Stephano*, C.A., but C. introduces *olim* before *occupato*.

[2] *processu*, C.L.S.; *processi*, B.

[3] L. has *custodiretur*.

[4] C. has *vi inferre*.

[5] The discord arising from these events was ended for a time in 1161. The outburst of 1167, which concluded *anno . . . sextodecimo* (*i.e.* 1169) was connected with Breton affairs. See p. 146, note 4.

Cap. XXV.

De coronatione Henrici tertii, et interfectione beati Thomæ.

A.D. 1170. (June 14) Coronation of prince Henry by Roger archbishop of York, Becket being an exile in France.

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°LXX°, qui fuit regis Henrici secundi septimus-decimus,[1] idem rex Henricum[2] filium suum in ætate tenera fecit sollemniter consecrari et coronari in regem Lundoniis, per manum Rogerii Eboracensis archiepiscopi. Nam venerabilis Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, rege nondum placato, licet Romanus pontifex et rex Francorum plurimum circa reconciliationem ejus satagerent, adhuc in Galliis exsulabat. Qui cum factum audisset, pro ecclesia sua æmulans, Romano pontifici, cujus favore et suffragiis fovebatur, rem celeriter intimavit, idque in suum et ecclesiæ suæ præjudicium actum esse allegans, ad coercendos, tam Eboracensem, qui in aliena provincia hoc attentaverat, quam episcopos, qui præsentes assensum præbuerant, magnæ districtionis literas impetravit. Sane rex Anglorum, tempore modico post filii coronationem in Anglia commoratus, transfretavit. Cumque[3] crebris domini papæ monitis, atque importunis illustris Francorum[4] regis precibus pulsaretur, ut saltem jam[5] post septennium exsilii insigni illi exsuli placari[6] dignaretur, tandem acquievit: et celebrata est inter eos sollemnis, et quanto serior tanto optatior gratiorque concordia. Rege igitur in transmarinis partibus consistente, idem archiepiscopus cum licentia et gratia regia ad ecclesiam propriam remeabat. Habebat autem penes se, rege inscio, literas domini papæ contra Eboracensem et reliquos episcopos, qui illi infaustissimæ coronationi interfuerant, impetratas, factæ jam con-

Becket complains to the pope.

Reconciliation between the king and Becket (July 22).

Becket's return to Canterbury (Dec. 3) with secret letters from the pope.

[1] See p. 117, note 3, as to Newburgh's peculiar reckoning.

[2] *Henricum*, B.L.S.; *Henricus*, C.

[3] *Cumque*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.

[4] *annorum* (sic), B.

[5] *jam*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *placari*, B.L.S.; *placare*, C.

cordiæ irritatrices, et majoris iræ provocatrices futuras. A.D. 1170.
Has in Angliam ad suspensionem episcoporum præmissas ipse[1] sequebatur, zelo justitiæ fervidus, utrum autem plene secundum scientiam[2] novit Deus. Nostræ enim parvitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temere judicare. Puto tamen quod beatissimus papa Gregorius in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia mitius egisset, et ea, quæ sine fidei Christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis et compensatione pacis dissimulanda duxisset, juxta illud propheticum, "Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia "tempus malum est." Itaque quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum est nec laudandum esse judico, nec vituperare præsumo; sed dico quia[3] si vel modice in hujusmodi a sancto viro per zeli laudabilis paulo immoderatiorem impetum est excessum, hoc ipsum est sacræ, quæ consecuta noscitur, igne passionis excoctum. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt a nobis, qui nos illis longe impares esse cognoscimus, ut tamen ea, in quibus homines vel forte fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus, vel laudemus, sed ea tantum[4] in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim dicat eos in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis[5] fiunt, esse imitabiles, cum dicat apostolus Jacobus, "in multis offendimus omnes"? Non ergo in omnibus quæ faciunt, sed sapienter et caute debent laudari, ut sua Deo prærogativa servetur: in cujus utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur. Igitur episcopis pro memorato excessu, qui utinam pro tempore dissimulatus fuisset, ad instantiam venerabilis Thomæ, Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate ab omni episcopalis officii dignitate suspensis, rex quorundam querelis exasperatus infremuit,

[Margin notes: The author's comments on the pope's action as regards the dispute. — Amos, v. 13. — Jac. iii. 2. — The bishops are suspended. The king's anger and imprudent words.]

[1] *ipse*, B.L.S.; *ipso*, C.
[2] C. has *conscientiam*.
[3] B.C.L. and S. have *quia*. See note 2 on p. 76.
[4] *tantum*, B.L.R.S.; *tamen*, C.
[5] *ipsis*, C.L.S.; *eis*, A., and, by 15 cent. alteration, B.

A.D. 1170.

Four knights take up the quarrel and cross to England.

et turbatus est[1] supra modum, atque in ipso fervore erumpentis furoris parum sui compos, ex abundantia cordis turbidi eructavit verba non sana. Tunc quatuor assistentium procerum, viri genere nobiles et militiæ actibus clari, æmulando pro domino temporali inflammati ad facinus, mox egressi sunt a facie ejus, et tanta velocitate transfretantes, ut quasi ad sollemnes epulas festinare viderentur, concepti furoris stimulis agitati, quinto Natalis Dominici die Cantuariam venerunt, et venerabilem archiepiscopum, religiosa lætitia præclaræ sollemnitati intentum, ibidem invenerunt. Ingressique[2] ad eum jam pransum et sedentem cum viris honoratis, salutatione non præmissa, sed regii nominis terrore prætento, jusserunt magis quam petierunt aut monuerunt, ut quoniam[3] episcoporum suspensio, qui regiæ[4] paruerant voluntati, in ipsius regis contemptum et contumeliam redundaret, eandem maturius relaxaret. Illo respondente, superioris sententiam a minori potestate convelli non posse, proinde sua non interesse relaxare non a se sed a pontifice Romano suspensos, voces sermonum grandium emittebant. Quibus ille non territus, furentibus granditerque[5] frementibus mira libertate atque fiducia loquebatur. Unde magis accensi concite egressi sunt, et sumptis armis, nam sine armis ingressi fuerant, ad atrocissimum se facinus cum ingenti strepitu fremituque[6] præparabant. Suasum est venerando[7] pontifici a suis, ut in sacram se basilicam recipiens, inhumane sævientium rabiem declinaret. Cumque non facile acquiesceret, paratus ad subeundum discrimen, tandem irrumpentibus atque urgentibus adversariis, amica suorum violentia ad sacri loci munimina tra-

They demand of Becket the relaxation of the suspension of the bishops.

He refuses.

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[1] *est*, B.C.L.S. ; om. R.

[2] *Ingressique*, B.C.S. ; *ingressi*, L.

[3] *quoniam*, B.L.S. ; *quam*, C.

[4] *regiæ*, B.C.L.S. ; *regis*, R.

[5] *granditerque*, B.L.R.S. ; *granditer et*, C.

[6] *fremituque*, C.L.S. ; om. B.

[7] *venerando*, B.C.L.S. ; *venerabili*, R.

A.D. 1170.

hebatur. Canebantur a monachis Omnipotenti Deo sollenmiter laudes vespertinæ, et ipse venerabile Christi templum ingressus est, sacrificium vespertinum mox futurus. Insecuti enim satellites diaboli neque sacri ordinis, neque sacri vel loci vel temporis reverentiam, ut Christiani, habuerunt, sed[1] sacerdotem magnum, stantem ad orationem ante venerandum altare, aggressi, in ipsis Christi natalitiis Christiani nequissimi gladiis crudelissime peremerunt. Quo facto, tanquam triumphantes egressi, cum infelici lætitia abierunt. Reputantes autem ne forte quod actum erat ei, pro quo æmulati fuerant, displiceret, in aquilonales[2] Angliæ partes secesserunt, animum erga se principis plenius pro tempore cognituri. Porro beati pontificis in conspectu Domini quam pretiosa mors fuerit, quantaque facinoris in eum commissi atrocitas ratione et[3] loci et temporis et personæ, signorum sequentium frequentia declaravit. Sane tanti piaculi fama in brevi per omnes fere Latini orbis fines dispersa, illustrem Anglorum regem infamavit, et præclaram ejus inter reges Christianos gloriam ita[4] denigravit, ut, quoniam credi vix poterat[5] illud absque ejus voluntate et mandato fuisse attentatum, fere omnium imprecationibus[6] impeteretur, et publicis insectandus odiis censeretur. Ipse quoque, audito quod a suis actum fuerat, intelligens datam esse maculam in gloriam suam, et vix expiabilem sibi nævum inustum, ita doluit, ut diebus aliquot perhibeatur nihil gustasse. Sive autem parceret homicidis illis, sive non, considerabat proclives esse homines ad male sentiendum de eo. Nam si parceret sceleratissimis, tanti mali ausum vel auctoritatem præstitisse videretur. Si vero in eis plecteret,

The murder of Becket, (Dec. 29).

The four knights retreat to the north of England.

Henry's grief and perplexity.

[1] *sed*, B.C.S.; *vel*, L.
[2] L. has *aquilones*.
[3] *ratione et*, B.C.L.S.; *ratione piaculi et*, A.
[4] *ita*, C.L.S.; om. B.
[5] *vix poterat*, B.C.S.; *non poterat vix*, L.
[6] *imprecationibus*, B.C.S.; *impetrationibus*, L.

A.D. 1170. quod absque ejus mandato non attentasse putabantur, utrobique nequissimus diceretur.[1] Idcirco parcendum eis duxit, et tam famæ suæ quam illorum saluti prospiciens, sedi eos Apostolicæ ad suscipiendam sollemnem pœnitentiam præsentari præcepit. Quod et factum est. Nam stimulante conscientia Romam profecti, ad agendam pœnitentiam a summo pontifice Ierosolymam sunt directi, ubi annis aliquot indictum satisfactionis modum non segniter,[2] ut dicitur, exsequentes, vitam omnes finiere. Sed hoc postea.[3] Tum vero idem rex, dum fere omnes in eum beati viri necem refunderent, et Francorum maxime principes, qui felicitatis ejus æmuli semper exstiterant, adversus eum, tanquam in verum certumque tantæ enormitatis auctorem, sedem Apostolicam instigarent, responsales Romam direxit, ut precum verecundia ferventem invidiam temperarent. Qui cum Romam venissent, cunctis regem Anglorum execrantibus, ægre admissi sunt.[4] Constanter vero allegantes, quod domini sui mandato sive consensu tantum facinus non fuisset commissum, tandem impetraverunt, ut a latere domini papæ legati in Gallias cum plenitudine potestatis mitterentur,[5] qui, re diligenter inquisita et cognita, eundem regem vel ad purgationem famæ suæ admitterent, vel reum inventum censura ecclesiastica coercerent. Quod et factum est. Missi enim a sede Apostolica cardinales duo, venerabilis[6] scilicet Albertus, qui postea eidem sedi præfuit, et Theodinus, in Gallias venerunt: factoque in terra regis Anglorum

The pope orders the four knights to do penance in the Holy Land.

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[1] *si vero . . . diceretur*, in margin at foot of page in C.

[2] *non segniter*, C.L.S.; *insigniter*, A.; *inseguiter*, B.

[3] One of the promises which the author does not fulfil, see p. 108, note 3.

[4] See the account in the letter of the king's envoys given by Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls' Edition, i. pp. 20–22).

[5] *cum . . . mitterentur*, B.L.S.; *mitterentur cum multitudine potestatis*, C.

[6] *venerabilis*, B.L.R.S.; *venerabiles*, C.

celebri conventu ecclesiasticorum virorum atque nobilium, ejusdem principis humiliter ibidem apparentis, et constanter asserentis, quod sua neque voluntate neque jussione illud, quo fama ejus gravabatur, contigerit, et quod de nulla unquam re magis doluerit, purgationem sollemniter susceperunt. Sane non negavit homicidas illos ex aliquibus forte verbis ejus incautius prolatis occasionem ausumque tanti furoris sumpsisse, cum, de suspensione episcoporum accepto nuntio, ira immoderatiori absorptus minus sobrie loqueretur; "et propter hoc," inquit, "disciplinam non "refugio Christianam: decernite quod placuerit, devote "amplectar exsequarque decretum." Quo dicto, et veste abjecta, juxta morem publice pœnitentium, nudum se ecclesiasticæ submisit disciplinæ. Hac tanti principis humilitate delectati, et præ gaudio lacrimati cardinales, collacrimantibus et Deum laudantibus plurimis, confortata ejusdem principis conscientia, et fama minus laborante, solverunt conventum. Successit autem beato Thomæ in cathedra Cantuariensi Ricardus prior Doverensis.

A.D. 1172.

Council of Avranches (Sept. 28, 1172).

Henry's purgation and penance.

Richard, prior of Dover, succeeds Becket.

Cap. XXVI.

De expugnatione Hiberniensium ab Anglis.

Iisdem temporibus Angli sub specie militantium Hiberniæ insulæ irrepserunt, eandem postea crescentibus viribus invasuri, et partem ejus non modicam armis subactam possessuri.

A.D. 1170.

Invasion of Ireland.

Est autem Hibernia, ut accepimus, inter insulas secundæ a majori Britannia magnitudinis, sed eadem, ut ait venerabilis Beda, serenitate et salubritate aeris multo præstantior, egregie pabulosa atque piscosa, et glebæ satis uberis, si non desit industria boni cultoris;

Description of the island.

A.D. 1170. sed[1] populos habet moribus incultos et barbaros, legum et disciplinæ fere ignaros, in agriculturam[2] desides, et ideo lacte magis quam pane viventes. Hanc autem singularem præ cunctis regionibus habet a natura prærogativam et dotem, ut nullum gignat venenatum animal, nullum reptile noxium. Cujus utique[3] certa citaque mors est ad primum Hibernici aeris attactum, si forte aliunde advehatur. Porro quicquid inde advehitur,[4] contra venena valere probatum est. Sane hoc quoque de hac insula mirabile est, quod cum major Britannia, æque oceani insula, nec spatio longiori sejuncta, tantos bellorum casus experta sit,[5] totiens exteris gentibus præda fuerit, totiens externam dominationem incurrerit, expugnata et possessa primo a Romanis, deinde a Germanis, consequenter a Danis, postremo a Normannis; Hibernia, Romanis etiam Orchadum insularum dominantibus inaccessa, raro et tepide ab ulla unquam gente bello pulsata, nunquam expugnata[6] et subacta est, nunquam externæ[7] subjacuit ditioni, usque ad annum a partu Virginis millesimum centesimum septuagesimum primum, qui fuit regis Anglorum Henrici secundi octavus decimus.[8] Quod enim Britones dicunt, eandem insulam suo paruisse Arturo, fabulosum est, sicut et cetera quæ de ipso mentiendi libidine petulantia quorundam confinxit. Quomodo autem Hibernici, incidendo in potestatem regis Anglorum, longam et nunquam[9] a seculo interruptam, et quasi ingenitam finierint li-

Ireland never under a foreign yoke until the year 1171.

[1] *sed*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[2] *agriculturam*, L.S.; *agricultura*, B.C.

[3] *utique*, B.L.S.; *itaque*, R.

[4] *inde advehitur* in all the MSS. collated at this point (B.C.L.S.).

[5] An erroneous reading in C. is marked for omission, but the correction does not appear.

[6] The mutilation of the margin of C. ceases here to affect the text.

[7] *externæ*, B.L.S.; *extraneæ*, C.

[8] See note 3, p. 117.

[9] *nunquam*, C.L.S.; *unquam*, B. Newburgh fails to mention the bull granted by pope Adrian IV., in 1155, authorising the invasion of Ireland.

bertatem, expositu[1] facile est, cum res sit recentis memoriæ. Denique mutandi status illi vel nationi vel regioni hæc fuisse occasio traditur. A.D. 1170.

Hibernia, juxta priscum Angliæ morem, in plura se regna conscindens, et consueta reges habere plurimos, eisdem plerumque disceptantibus discerpebatur; et quanto[2] externorum inexpertior erat bellorum, tanto interdum indigenis, tanquam propriis visceribus in mutuam cædem ruentibus, miserabilius eviscerabatur. Contigit autem quendam regum terræ illius a finitimis impetitum regibus coarctari nimis, et, defectu virium, crudelitatem hostium pæne experiri. Inito ergo consilio, et misso festinanter in Angliam filio,[3] accersivit viros militares, et juventutem strenuam, spe lucri profusioris illectam. Quorum ope sublevatus, primo respirare, deinde roborari, postremo subactis hostibus triumphare cœpit. Nec suos adjutores abire passus est, sed tanta eos largitate donavit, ut, obliti populum suum et domos patrum suorum,[4] ibidem eligerent habitare. Cum autem ferocissimi totius Hiberniæ populi contra eundem regem indignari et tumultuari inciperent, quod gentem Anglicam Hiberniæ immisisset, illi metuentes paucitati suæ, accitis ex Anglia viris inopia laborantibus et lucri cupidis vires paulatim auxerunt; et quia nondum habebant principem, erantque adhuc tanquam oves non habentes pastorem, accersierunt[5] ex Anglia præficiendum sibi virum nobilem et potentem, comitem scilicet Ricardum. Qui nimirum cum esset magnanimus, et supra vires rei familiaris in expensarum effusione profusus, amplissimis redditibus exinanitis, et exhausto fere patrimonio, creditoribus erat supra modum obnoxius; atque ideo proclivius ad majora in-

Causes which led to the English expeditions.

The earl of Pembroke invited to command the English in Ireland.

[1] *expositu*, C.S.; *expositu* altered to *exponere*, B.L.

[2] C. has *quanto in*.

[3] Dermot came himself.

[4] *domos patrum suorum*, B.L.S.; *domum patris sui*, C.

[5] C. has a wrong word here, but the correction is torn away.

A.D. 1171.

vitantibus acquievit. Armatorum ergo juvenum plurima validaque manu contracta in terra juris sui, classem transfretaturus in Hiberniam præparabat. Cumque jam solvere pararet, affuerunt qui ex parte regis transfretationem inhiberent. Ille vero nullius rei, quam in Anglia possidere videbatur,[1] remoratus affectu, nihilominus transfretavit, atque exspectantes socios optato lætificavit adventu. Junctis mox copiis aliquid audendum aggrediendumque ratus, quo in posterum barbaris foret terribilis, pervicaci impetu irruit super Divelinum, urbem maritimam, totius Hiberniæ metropolim, portuque celeberrimo in commerciis et commeatibus nostrarum æmulam Lundoniarum. Qua fortiter celeriterque expugnata et capta, plurimos etiam longius positos metu perculsos in fœdus venire coegit. Insistebat finitimis pertinacius, priscam tueri nitentibus libertatem, munitiones locis opportunis construens, et dominationem paulatim protendens. Porro quantulamcunque[2] nationis barbaræ gratiam per affinitatem affectans, fœderati regis filiam uxorem accepit, et partem regni plurimam nomine dotis percepit. Cujus tam fausti successus cum regi innotuissent Anglorum, motus quod, eo non solum inconsulto sed etiam inhibente, rem tantam fuisset aggressus, et præclaræ acquisitionis gloriam illi potius, ut præcellenti, adscribendam in se convertisset, omne ejus in Anglia patrimonium fisco addixit, et, ne quod ex Anglia subsidium Hiberniæ inferretur, commeatus navium interdixit. Fortiora quoque comminans, in gratiam maturius redire compulit jam pæne regnantem. Itaque extorsit ei famosissimam civitatem Divelinum,[3] et cetera quæ[4] in acquisitione potiora videbantur: parte

The king forbids the expedition, but Richard de Clare disregards the prohibition.

Capture of Dublin (August, 1171).

The king confiscates de Clare's English estates, and stops supplies from England.

De Clare gives up Dublin and other

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[1] *videbatur* omitted from C., but there is a mark showing that a word was supplied in the now mutilated margin.

[2] *quantulamcunque*, B.C.S.; *quantulacunque*, L.

[3] *Divelinum*, C.L.S.; *Divilinum*, B.

[4] *quæ*, B.L.S.; *quo*, C.

vero reliqua cum patrimonio suo Anglico integre illi restituto, jussit esse contentum. Quibus actis, idem comes, qui paulo ante, exinanito prodige patrimonio, fere nihil aliud quam nudam nobilitatem habuerat, Hibernicis Anglicisque opibus inclitus, in multa felicitate[1] agebat, quam tamen post annos aliquot mors immatura corrupit. Plane hoc ipso declaratum est, quam vanum sit quod in homine illo ita evanuit: et quam fallax, quod eundem sibi incumbentem repente elabendo delusit. Ex Hibernicis manubiis, quibus multum inhiaverat, et pro quibus tam multum etiam cum periculo salutis sudaverat, nihil secum hinc abiens homo ille[2] portavit, sed laboriose periculoseque quæsita ingratis relinquens heredibus, salubrem quoque multis ex suo occasu doctrinam reliquit. Rex autem Anglorum post modicum in Hiberniam cum ingenti militia transfretavit, reges insulæ, qui eatenus rebelles exstiterant, adventu ejus pavefactos sine sanguine subjugavit,[3] rebusque pro voto dispositis, eodem anno in Angliam cum salute et gaudio[4] remeavit.

A.D. 1171. conquests to Henry.

Death of earl Richard (1177).

King Henry lands in Ireland (Oct. 17).

Cap. XXVII.

Quomodo Henricus tertius recessit a patre, et commovit contra eum[5] regem Francorum et alios.[6]

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°LXX°III°, qui fuit regis Henrici secundi vicesimus,[7] cum idem rex in Angliam reversus ex Hiberniæ,[8] in Normanniam post modicum transisset ex Anglia, facta est execrabilis et fœda dis-

A.D. 1173. The young king rebels against his father.

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[1] *multa felicitate,* B.L.S.; *multis a felicitate,* C.

[2] *ille,* B.L.S.; *secum,* C., thus repeating the word.

[3] Benedict of Peterborough excepts the king of Connaught.

[4] *et gaudio,* C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *eum,* C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *et alios,* C.L.S.; om. B.

[7] See p. 117, note 3.

[8] April 17; left for Normandy in May 1172, not 1173 as here implied.

A.D. 1173. sensio inter ipsum et filium ejus Henricum tertium, quem ante biennium, ut superius dictum est, in regem fecerat sollemniter consecrari. Cum enim idem crevisset, et pubes jam factus vellet cum sacramento et nomine rem sacramenti et nominis obtinere, et patri saltem conregnare: cum solus, ut ei a quibusdam insusurrabatur, de jure regnare deberet, quasi eo coronato regnum exspirasset paternum, indignans maxime expensas regie[1] faciendas sibi a patre parcius ministrari; contra patrem intumuit[2] atque infremuit, clamque ad socerum suum regem Francorum, patri tædium molliturus, profugit. A quo nimirum grate susceptus, non tam quia gener erat, quam quia a genitore desciverat, ejus se in omnibus consilio credidit. Francorum igitur virulentissimis adhortationibus animatus atque instigatus in patrem, quominus jus violaret naturæ, exemplo non est territus scelestissimi Absalonis. Pater vero filii aversione comperta, et quo[3] profugisset agnoscens, misit ad regem Francorum viros honoratos cum verbis pacificis, filium paterno jure reposcens; et si quid circa illum emendandum videretur, ejusdem se regis consilio mature emendaturum pollicens. Ad hæc ille, "Quis mihi," inquit,[4] "talia "mandat?" "Rex," aiunt, "Anglorum." Et ille, "Falsum est," inquit, "rex Anglorum ecce adest, per "vos mihi nil mandat. Si autem patrem hujus, olim "Anglorum regem, etiamnunc regem appellatis, sci"tote, quia[5] rex ille[6] mortuus est. Porro quod adhuc "pro rege se gerit, cum regnum[7] filio, mundo teste, "resignaverit, mature emendabitur." Sic delusi responsales ad dominum suum rediere. Mox idem Henricus junior, Francorum consilio, malum patri unde-

The young king's flight to Louis of France (March 8).

The king sends for his son.

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[1] *regie*, B.L.S.; *regias*, C.

[2] *intumuit*, C.L.S.; *intimuit*, B.

[3] *quo*, B.L.S.; *quod*, C.

[4] *Quis mihi, inquit*, L.S.; *Quis, inquit, mihi*, B.C.

[5] See note 2 on p. 76.

[6] *rex ille*, B.C.; *ille rex*, L.S.

[7] *regnum*, C.L.S.; *regno*, B.

cunque moliens, partes Aquitaniæ clam adiit, et duos fratres impuberes ibidem cum matre consistentes, Ricardum scilicet et Gaufridum[1] sollicitatos, connivente, ut dicitur, matre, in Franciam secum traduxit. Alteri enim Aquitaniam, alteri Britanniam suo tempore possidendas pater concesserat, et propterea per illum Aquitanos, per hunc vero Britones proclivius suis partibus applicandos, Francis docentibus, intelligebat. Comitem quoque Flandrensem, patris sui consobrinum, virum magnarum virium, et innumeræ bellicosæque, cui præerat,[2] gentis fiducia in immensum gloriantem, grandibus promissis illectum, annitente rege Francorum, sibi adjunxit. Tunc multi potentes et nobiles, tam in Anglia, quam in partibus transmarinis, vel mero odio eatenus dissimulato impulsi, vel vanissimis pollicitationibus sollicitati, a patre ad filium paulatim cœperunt deficere, et ad motus se bellicos modis omnibus præparare, comes scilicet Leicestrensis, comes Cestrensis, Hugo Bigotus, Radulfus de Fougeriis,[3] aliique complures amplitudine opum et firmitate munitionum terribiles.[4] Multi etiam suis rebus viribusque minus confidentes, ne nil agerent, concedendo in Franciam hostilem animum declararunt. His accessit hostis truculentior rex Scottorum, immites populos, et[5] neque sexui neque ætati parcituros, finibus immissurus Anglorum. Cum ergo tot tantique[6] proceres a rege seniore descivissent,[7] omnesque contra eum tanquam pro anima una[8] gererent: admodum pauci erant, qui ei fideliter et firmiter ad-

A.D. 1173.

The young king wins over his brothers Richard and Geoffrey.

The count of Flanders joins the league against king Henry.

Disaffection among the English barons.

[1] *Gaufridum*, B.L.S.; *Galfridum*, C.

[2] *præerat*, B.C.S.; *erat*, L.

[3] *Fougeriis*, C.L.S.; *Feugeriis*, by 15th cent. alteration, B.; *Foucheriis*, R.

[4] It appears that the young king had bribed them with fiefs (Bened. Petrob. i. 45).

[5] *et*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[6] *tantique*, C.L.S.; *tanti*, B.

[7] C. has *descivisserunt* (sic).

[8] *una gererent*, C.; *sua gererent*, S.; *sua gerentes*, L.; *sua gerent*, B.

A.D. 1173. hærerent, ceteris circa eum pendule fluitantibus,[1] dum a regis junioris absorberi victoria scrupulosius formidarent. Tunc demum vidit rex senior, sic enim vulgo dicebatur, quam inconsulte, immo quam stulte egerit, præmature creando sibi successorem, minus attendens, quod novarum rerum[2] aucupatores regem proclivius sequerentur[3] juniorem. Turbatis ergo rebus anxius, dum hostes interni externique urgerent, iis[4] quoque, qui sibi adhærere videbantur, in gratiam filii remissius agentibus minus se credens, stipendiarias Bribantionum copias, quas Rutas vocant, accersivit, eo quod de thesauris regiis, quibus in tali articulo parcendum non esset, pecunia copiosa suppeteret.

King Henry sees the folly of the premature coronation of his son.

Distrusting his nobles he hires Brabançons.

Cap. XXVIII.

Qualia contigerunt apud Albemarliam et Castellum Novum, et Vernullium.[5]

A.D. 1173. Igitur mense Junio, quando solent reges ad bella procedere, finitimi principes, contractis undecunque viribus, regem hostiliter aggrediuntur Anglorum, sub obtentu quidem quasi pro filio æmularentur contra patrem, qua nimirum æmulatione nil stultius, re autem vera proprii vel odii, ut rex Francorum, vel emolu-

Sieges of Aumâle, Châteauneuf, and Verneuil (June).

[1] *fluitantibus*, C.L.S.; *fluctantibus*, B.

[2] In L. and S. *novorum regum*, but above the word *novorum* is interlined, "*vel a*," and above *regum*, "*vel r*." By this it can hardly be intended that the text should run either *novorum regum* or *novarum rerum*. Probably the scribe was uncertain as to the reading of the author's manuscript. If alive, Newburgh would surely have been consulted by the *armarius*, for S. was the Newburgh Priory copy. C.B.R. read *novorum regum*, but B. has *novarum rerum* in a 15 cent. hand in the margin.

[3] *sequerentur*, B.L.S.; *exsequerentur*, C.

[4] *iis*, C.L.S.; *hujus*, B.

[5] *et Vernullium*, S.; *et Vernillium*, C.; *et Vernullum*, L.; om. B.

menti, ut comes Flandrensis, negotium porrecta occasione agentes. Porro rex Anglorum ad excipiendos tantorum hostium impetus minus se poterat præparare propter suorum tumultus internos, quibus vehementissime angebatur. Cum ergo propter manum imparem irrumpentibus non posset occurrere, munitiones tamen, quæ erant in terminis, dispertitis præsidiis cautius studuit munire. Itaque rex Francorum oppidum Vernullium, nullius rei necessariæ ad tolerandam obsidionem diutinam indigum,[1] circumfuso conclusit exercitu, non nisi capto eo vel dedito progressurus. Comes vero Flandrensis[2] cum suis copiis a parte Flandriæ[2] irruens, obsedit Albemarliam, valido quidem inaniter fultam præsidio: cum ejusdem oppidi dominus, comes scilicet Albemarlensis, circa seniorem regem, ceu[3] multi alii, fluctuaret.[4] Qui nimirum pro eo quod oppidum minus oppugnatum cito expugnatum est, cum Flandrensi[5] creditus est comite collusisse. A quo captus cum omnibus quos illic rex causa præsidii miserat, alia quoque castella sua resignavit. Progrediensque Flandrensis[5] exercitus ad majora faustis animatus principiis, munitionem regiam, quæ Castellum-Novum dicitur,[6] per dies aliquot, adhibitis machinis, fortiter oppugnavit. Qua tandem dedita, comes tamen Flandrensis gavisus non est. Frater namque ejus Matheus, comes Bononiensis,[7] quo ille tanquam futuro successore gaudebat, qui de conjuge propria sobolem nequaquam susceperat aut sperabat, in ejusdem oppidi oppugnatione ictu sagittæ circa genu saucius, casu

A.D. 1173.

Henry garrisons his fortresses.

King Louis attacks Verneuil (about July 6).

The count of Flanders besieges Aumâle,

and then attacks Châteauneuf.

His brother Matthew, count of Boulogne, being killed, the count of Flanders withdraws from the war.

[1] C. has *indiguit*.

[2] *Flandrensis*, and (lower) *Flandriæ*, C.L.S.; *Flaundrensis*, *Flaundriæ*, B.

[3] *ceu*, L.S.; *seu*, B.C.

[4] *fluctuaret*, B.L. and, by correction, S.; *fluctuarent*, C.

[5] *Flandrensi* and (lower) *Flandrensis*, C.L.S.; *Flaundrensi*, *Flaundrensis*, B.

[6] R. de Diceto (Twysden, col. 571) calls the castle Drivencurt (Driencourt).

[7] *Bononiensis*, B.S.; *Bonnoniensis*, C.; *Boloniensis*, by alteration, L.

A.D. 1173. vulneris in pejus vergente decubuit, et post dies paucissimos inter curandum in fata concessit; fratri tantum ex suo interitu luctum relinquens, ut soluta mox expeditione lugubris ad propria remearet, sinistrum sibi eventum objectans atque imputans, qui regem consobrinum, a quo nunquam læsus, crebro autem beneficiis præventus exstiterat, causa nequissimi filii hostiliter impetendum duxisset. Quo comperto, considerans idem rex se jam bellicæ sollicitudinis parte dimidia pro tempore liberatum, adversus partem reliquam[1] propensiorem mox sumpsit fiduciam. Convocatis ergo stipendiariis copiis, et quotquot eum in illo articulo non deserendum putabant, denuntiavit regi Francorum, qui jam partem æstatis plurimam in prænominati oppidi obsidione consumpserat, eoque mature se potiturum sperabat, ut vel obsidionem desereret, vel ad diem certum discrimen sibi bellicum impendere minime dubitaret. Primum quidem Franci, natura feroces simul et arrogantes, præsertim cum numero et apparatu bellico præstare viderentur, denuntiationem derisere, id eum nullatenus ausurum arbitrantes. Verum agnito, quod impavidus cum instructo adventaret exercitu, tunc primum suspicari potuere eum aliquid ausurum. Illico rex eorum, accitis festine optimatibus, tractare cum eis cœpit de bello. Missisque obviam regi Anglorum episcopo[2] et abbate, qui ab ore ejus acciperent utrum congressurus accederet, ipse interim pro tempore copias instruebat. Et ecce missi eidem regi occurrunt qui nescio quid ordinans, seseque cum multa confidentia ostentans, armatus cum paucis aliquot stadiorum spatio exercitum anteibat. Cui cum dicerent, regem Francorum velle certificari de prœlio; vultu feroci et voce terribili, "Ite," in-

King Henry thus relieved from one source of danger concentrates against the king of France.

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[1] *reliquam*, B.L.S.; *aliquam*, C.

[2] *episcopo* B.C.L.S.; *uno episcopo*, R.

quit, "dicite regi vestro, quia[1] ecce adsum;" cumque festinanter reversi, instantis jam de proximo principis ferociam et obstinationem indicassent; consilium habuerunt rex et optimates Francorum,[2] ut pro tempore cederent, et pugnaturi pro hereditate patrum suorum impetum declinarent. Itaque castris relictis cum tremendis illis copiis in Franciam refugerunt, armati tamen et compositis ordinibus, ne fugere viderentur. Sicque illi qui paulo ante ferocibus animis, et grandium rugitu verborum leones videbantur, tanquam lepores cedendo fugiendoque repente inventi sunt. Porro rex Anglorum indecora superborum hostium fuga contentus, urgere et persequi noluit abeuntes,[3] sed, exercitu ad hostilium direptionem castrorum[4] converso, oppidum cum sollemni lætitia suis, qui[5] ibidem fortiter egerant, congratulaturus intravit. Repertum est autem in castris frumenti et vini et escarum plurimum, cum supellectile varia, quam abeuntes instantibus adversariis asportare non poterant.[6]

A.D. 1173.

The French army retreats before Henry (Aug. 9).

Capture of the French camp.

Cap. XXIX.

De iis qui capti sunt apud Dolum.[7]

Externis igitur hostibus, quorum maxima erat potentia, rege scilicet Francorum et Flandrensi comite, Dei voluntate propulsatis, interni[8] minime quievere. Quorum plurimi condicto[9] convenientes et conglobati

A.D. 1173.

Rebellion in Brittany.

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[1] B.C.L.S. read *quia*. See note 2 on p. 76 as to similar cases.

[2] *optimates Francorum*, B.L.S.; *optimates ejus scilicet Francorum*, C.

[3] *abeuntes*, B.C.L.S.; *fugientes*, R.

[4] *castrorum*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[5] *qui*, C.L.S.; *quia*, B. originally.

[6] Newburgh fails to state that King Louis carried away the citizens of Verneuil and burned their city (Bened. Pet. i. 54).

[7] *Dolum*, C.L.S.; *Doluam*, B.

[8] *interni*, B.L.S.; *interim*, C.

[9] *condicto*, B.L.S.; *condicte*, C.

A.D. 1173.

The rebels seize Dol. The king's Brabançons after a battle (on Aug. 20) shut them up in the town. Henry hastens from Rouen.

Dolense oppidum obtinuerunt: quod juris quidem est Britannici, sed Normannicis collimitatur finibus. Quo audito Bribantiones regii mature affuerunt, et congressi cum eis, primo eorum multitudinem in oppidum refugere, mox etiam capto oppido in unius arcis angustias secedere compulerunt.[1] Quibus ita conclusis, res cum summa celeritate defertur ad regem Rotomagi consistentem. Ille cibi somnique oblitus, mutando vehicula, longa terrarum spatia transmeans, tam festinus affuit, ut volasse videretur. Cumque oppugnando[2] arci intenderet, conclusa multitudo angustias illas non ferens, misericordiam imploravit. Pactus ergo eis rex vitam cum integritate membrorum, arce dedita insignem illam captivitatem custodiæ[3] mancipavit. Ibi quippe comes Cestrensis, et[4] Radulfus de Fougeriis,[5] aliique nobiles fere centum, in manus regis, quem atrocissimis fuerant odiis insectati, Dei judicio inciderunt. A quo nimirum multo clementius quam eorum meritis debebatur tractati,[6] pro tempore in vinculis quieverunt. Duo vero prænominati, qui clariores videbantur inter captivos, regi de fidelitate servanda satisfacientes, relaxari meruerunt. In qua re procul dubio tanti principis in prævaricatores infidelissimos[7] hostesque atrocissimos clementia jure miranda laudandaque censetur.

The Earl of Chester and other rebels surrender. (Aug. 26).

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[1] *compulerunt*, B.L.S.; *compulerint*, C.

[2] *oppugnando*, L.S.; *oppugnandæ*, C.B.

[3] *insignem . . . custodiæ*, B.C.S.; *insigne in illam custodiæ captivitatem*, L.

[4] C. omits *et*.

[5] *de Fougeriis*, L.S.; *de Feugeriis*, B.C.

[6] *tractati*, C.L.S.; *tractari*, B.

[7] *infidelissimos*, C.S.; *infidissimos*, B.L.

Cap. XXX.

De obsidione Leicestriæ,[1] *et guerra regis Scottorum, et captione comitis Leicestrensis.*[2]

Dum[3] in transmarinis partibus a rege vel circa regem talia gererentur,[4] in Anglia quoque non dissimilia provenerunt. Cum enim comes Leicestrensis, qui primus a rege defecerat, plurimos petulanti corrupisset exemplo, Ricardus de Lusci,[5] qui tunc Angliæ sub rege præerat, accepto a rege mandato, et exercitu propere convocato, Leicestriam obsedit: qua dedita et incensa, oppugnationem castelli omittens, eo[6] quod ad[7] urgentiora negotia vocaretur, recessit. Porro rex Scottorum agnito quantum rex Anglorum in Normannia laboraret, cum gentis barbaræ et sitientis sanguinem immanissimis copiis Anglorum fines ingressus civitatem Carduliensem obsidione circumdedit, totamque adjacentem provinciam cædibus et rapinis fœdavit. Comperto autem[8] quod ingens ex superiori Anglia exercitus adventaret, obsidionem reliquit, et post vastam provinciæ, quæ Northumbria dicitur, depopulationem, a facie procerum nostrorum in propria se recepit. Qui nimirum advenientes eum militaribus copiis amnem Tuedam, quæ[9] regnum Anglicum Scotticumque disterminat, transgressi, terræ hostili talionem nullo obsistente intulerunt. Sed mox ferventibus nuntiis ad superiora Angliæ revocantur: regis tamen hostis ferocia necessariis pro tempore induciis caute suspensa, cum eum callida nostrorum[10]

A.D. 1173.

Affairs in England during the king's absence. The Earl of Leicester rebels. The justiciary de Luci besieges Leicester (about July 22), but leaves the castle untaken. The king of Scots besieges Carlisle, but retreats before an English army

Bad news causes de Luci to

[1] *Leicestriæ*, C.; *Leecestriæ*, B.L.S.

[2] *et captione . . . Leicestrensis*, L.S., and, with reading *Leicestriæ*, C.; om. B.

[3] *Dum*, L.R.S.; *cum*, B.C.

[4] *gererentur*, C.L.S.; *gerentur*, B.

[5] *de Lusci*, B.L.S.; *de Luci*, C.

[6] *eo*, B.L.S.; *eoque* (?) C.

[7] *ad*, L.S.; interlined, C.; om. B.

[8] *autem*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[9] *quæ*, B.C.L.S.

[10] *nostrorum*, C.L.S.; *errorum*, B.

A.D. 1173.

return southwards.

The Earl of Leicester coming over with a fleet from Flanders is joined by Hugh Bigod.

The sack of Norwich.

The men of Dunwich successfully defy Earl Hugh.

dissimulatione laterent adhuc quæ nuntiabantur. Comes enim Leicestrensis[1] cum classe hostili ex Flandria apud Orientales Anglos applicuit, susceptusque a complice proprio, Hugone scilicet Bigoto, viro potente[2] et callido, ibidem aliquamdiu cum adducto consedit exercitu. Mox eodem Hugone duce et cooperatore idem exercitus irruens super civitatem Norwicensem, eandem præsidio vacuam et repentino terrore perstrictam minimo negotio éffregit, ejusque opibus abrasis, præda onustus ad castra rediit.[3] Cumque eodem auctore atque incentore insignem vicum maritimum variis opibus refertum, qui dicitur Donewic,[4] similiter irrupturus accederet, habitatorum, qui se ad excipiendum hostilem impetum constanter præparabant, fiducia territus, et nihil adversus hujusmodi audendum ratus, vacuus recessit. Hugo vero ejusdem exercitus, quantum volebat, opera usus, denuntiavit comiti Leicestrensi, ut copias peregrinas, quas adduxerat, ad terram et castella proprii juris traduceret. Qui nimirum diu

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[1] *Leicestrensis*, B.L.S.; *Leicestriæ*, C.

[2] *viro potente*, B.L.S.; *viro scilicet potente*, C.

[3] Newburgh here differs from Fantosme in putting the sack of Norwich before the attempt on Dunwich, but both agree in placing these events in the sequence which led up to the battle of Fornham. R. de Diceto says that Leicester landed on Sept. 29 at Walton. The Durham MS. of Fantosme (l. 820) gives the place as "*North Wales.*" This perhaps comes near enough to "*Walton*" to be understood as a much confused version of the name. Haghenet was taken on Oct. 13th, 1173; and the battle of Fornham was fought on Oct. 17; the army marching, as appears from Hoveden, from Framlingham to the encounter. The Lincoln MS. of Fantosme asserts that the Earl landed at *Arwelle* (Orwell). Diceto (vol. I. p. 381) states that a party of Flemings landing at *Airewell* on May 15, 1174, joined Earl Bigod, and captured Norwich on June 18. Benedict says this happened in 1174, while the warfare which ended with the capture of the Scotch king was in progress. The MSS. of Fantosme thus conflicting with each other, and Newburgh differing somewhat from both, the testimony of all three as regards Norwich must be set aside.

[4] *Donewic*, L.S.; *Donewick*, B.; *Donewich*, C.

multumque[1] hæsitans, eo quod per medios hostium fines, qui ejus dicebantur transitum observare, absque grandi non posset periculo Leicestriam transmeare; tandem confidens de numero et virtute sociorum, habebat enim equites circiter octoginta electos, et peditum fortium quatuor vel quinque millia; reputans etiam neminem sibi[2] obstiturum in via, eo quod in eis, qui regi favere videbantur, amicos haberet plurimos, constanter cum uxore et quodam nobili viro ex Francia, Hugone scilicet de Castello, totisque copiis iter arripuit. Regii autem proceres apud Sanctum Edmundum[3] cum copiosa militia observabant. Cumque[4] illi prope jam essent, instructum contra eos exercitum produxerunt. Porro illi neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram declinare valentes, et necessitatem in alacritatem vertentes, turmis dispositis audacter processere. Commissum est itaque prœlium grave,[5] his pro gloria, illis pro salute certantibus. Sed victoria concessit ad regios. Captusque est[6] comes cum conjuge, virilis animi femina, et memorato Hugone de Castello, et toto fere equitatu: peditum vero multitudo fere omnis interiit. Insignes captivi in Normanniam ad regem sunt missi, de ceteris quoque factum est quod voluit.

A.D. 1173.

The rebel forces try to march to Leicester.

The king's barons meet and defeat them at Fornham St. Genevieve (Oct. 17).

Capture of the Earl and Countess of Leicester.

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[1] *multumque*, B.C.S.; *multum*, L.

[2] *sibi*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *Edmundum*, B.C.S.; *Eadmundum*, L.

[4] *cumque*, B.L.S.; *cum*, C.

[5] The precise place is probably marked out by the "Seven Hills" on the road between Thetford and Bury. Singular discoveries of skeletons have been made at Fornham.

[6] *est*, B.C.S.; om. L.

Cap. XXXI.

De David Scotto,[1] *et quibusdam aliis qui a rege defecerunt.*

A.D. 1174.

Continuance of the rebellion in England.

The Earl of Leicester's men ravage the country round Leicester.

David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, becomes their leader.

Roger de Mowbray and others break out into rebellion after Easter (Mar. 24). The young king tampers with

Sane cum illa filii contra patrem infilialis[2] vesania fere biennio debacchata[3] noscatur; primi anni insigniora gesta superiori sunt relatione digesta. Hieme quippe paulisper a bellicis tumultibus cessatum est in partibus transmarinis; in Anglia vero non ita. Viri enim, qui erant in munitionibus comitis Leicestrensis, cum propter hoc, quod domino suo acciderat, aliquamdiu quievissent,[4] rursus efferati, et tanquam ad domini sui ultionem inflammati, aggregata sibi improborum multitudine, vicinas provincias excursionibus infestare cœperunt. Et, ut principem magni nominis habentes[5] fiducialius agerent, Hunteduniensem[6] comitem David, fratrem regis Scottorum, ducem sibi ac principem delegerunt. Quo tanquam feliciter debacchante, et prospere procedente ad plurima, comes quoque Ferrariensis,[7] et vir nobilis Rogerius de Moubrai[8] animum diu dissimulatum declarantes, post defectores ceteros abierunt: vixque sacris Quadragesimæ diebus concepti furoris impetum cohibentes, post sollemnitatem Paschalem ad ausus improbos proruperunt. Nec cessabat eo tempore rex junior optimates Anglorum, qui patri adhærere videbantur, per clandestinas literas vel promissionibus allicere, vel comminationibus pulsare: ut eos ad suas quocunque modo partes tradu-

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[1] C. omits *Scotto.*

[2] *in filias* (?), B.

[3] *debacchata,* B.L.R.S.; *debacchare,* C.

[4] *quievissent,* B.L.S.; *quievisset,* C.

[5] *habentes,* C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *Hunteduniensem,* L.S.; *Huntedoniensem,* B.; *Huntedunensem,* C.

[7] *Ferrariensis,* C.L.S.; *Ferrariensis,* B.

[8] *Moubrai,* B.L.S.; *Mubrai,* C.

cerct. Quamobrem tunc in Anglia pauci admodum nobiles fuisse traduntur, qui non circa regem vacillarent, ab eo pro[1] tempore defecturi, nisi maturius eorum fuisset meditationibus obviatum.

A.D. 1174.

The loyalty of his father's adherents.

Cap. XXXII.

De adventu regis in Angliam, et qualia[2] Scotti fecerunt in Anglia.

Igitur secundo initæ contentionis[3] anno, rursum a magnis hostibus, scilicet rege Francorum, comite Flandrensi, rege Scottorum, bellum adversus seniorem Anglorum regem totis viribus instauratur. Et comes quidem Flandrensis, fraterni jam oblitus exitii, præ ambitu Anglicanæ provinciæ quæ Cantia dicitur, de qua scilicet regi juniori jam hominium fecerat, cum eodem in Angliam transiturus transferendis copiis classem parabat. Rex vero Francorum contractum undecunque exercitum invasurus Normanniam instruebat. Quibus cognitis rex Anglorum senior, malens sibi fines suos transmarinos periclitari quam regnum, quos tamen caute credidit muniendos, prævidebat enim neminem in Anglia, se absente et[4] tanquam non exstante, illi, qui successurus exspectabatur, obstiturum, præventis hostibus, cum aliquanto[5] equitatu et una Bribantionum turma in Angliam mature advehitur.

A.D. 1174.

The renewal of the campaign in Normandy. The count of Flanders prepares to seize on Kent. Henry electing to risk Normandy rather than England crosses with an army.

Interea[6] rex Scottorum cum propriæ gentis infinita barbarie, atque accersitorum ex Flandria stipendia-

William, king of Scotland, (after Mar. 31) invades

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[1] *ab eo pro*, B.L.S.; *pro eo* with *ab* erased from before *eo*, C.

[2] *qualia*, B.L.S.; *qualiter*, C.

[3] *contentionis*, B.L.S.; *intentionis*, C.

[4] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] B. has *aliquanta*.

[6] The whole of the remainder of the chapter should be closely compared with the narrative of Jordan Fantosme (Surtees Soc.).

A.D. 1174.

England, capturing Brough and Appleby. The citizens of Carlisle give conditional promise of surrender (at Michaelmas). Attacks Prudhoe. Roger de Mowbray seeks aid against Geoffrey, the bishop elect of Lincoln.

riorum equitum peditumque manu non modica, fines Anglorum ingressus, duas in Westmeria[1] munitiones regias, scilicet Burgum et Appelbi,[2] præoccupatas et sine præsidiis inventas obtinuit: indeque digrediens, urbem iterum Carduliensem oppugnare statuit. Sed cautione a trepidis civibus præstita, quod ad diem certum civitatem illi traderent, nisi interim a rege Anglorum sufficiens sibi præsidium mitteretur, ad quandam munitionem super amnem Tinum,[3] quæ[4] dicitur Prudehcu,[5] oppugnandam convertit exercitum. Tunc accessit ad eum prædictus Rogerius de Moubrai[6] auxilium flagitans. Duabus[7] quippe munitionibus suis a Gaufrido regis Anglorum filio naturali, tunc Lincolniensi electo, fortiter expugnatis et captis, tertiam, Tresch vocatam,[8] cum periculo possidebat. Qui nimirum Rogerius[9] regi Scottorum, in Eboracensem provinciam irruptionem meditanti, jampridem filii[10] primogenitum obsidem dederat, quod illi assisteret et pareret in omnibus; et ab eo vicissim sponsionem acceperat, quod in quacunque necessitate ejus nequaquam auxilio fraudaretur. Verum idem rex, cum per dies aliquot apud Prudehou casso et suis magis noxio fuisset labore sudatum, audiens Eboracensis provinciæ contra se militiam excitari, Tino transmisso Northumbriæ fines invasit. Corrosum est a Scottis, quibus nulla esca infamis, quicquid vel a canibus mandi potuit; et dum prædæ insisterent, jugulare senes, trucidare parvulos, eviscerare feminas,

The king of Scotland, abandoning the siege of Prudhoe, ravages Northumberland.

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[1] *Westmeria*, C.S.; *Westmaria*, B.; *Vestemeria*, L.

[2] *Appelbi*, C.L.S.; *Appilbi*, B.

[3] *Tinum*, B.L.S.; *Tynum*, C.

[4] *quæ*, B.C.S.; *qui*, L.

[5] *Prudehou*, C.L.S.; *Proudehou*, B.; and similar variations below.

[6] *Moubrai*, B.L.S.; *Mubrai*, C.

[7] *duabus*, C.L.S.; *duabusque*, B.

[8] *Tresch vocatam*, S.; *Tresch vocata*, C.; *Tresc(?) vocatam*, B.; *Thresch vocatam*, L. Thirsk in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

[9] *Rogerius*, C.L.S.; *Rogerus*, B.

[10] *filii*, B.L.R.S.; *filium*, C.

et hujusmodi, quæ horrendum est et[1] dicere, genti inhumanæ et feris plus efferæ voluptas fuit. Immisso igitur miserabili provinciæ immanissimorum prædonum exercitu, barbarisque inhumane debacchantibus, rex ipse, excubante circa se honestiori mitiorique stipatus militia, vacare videbatur, observabatque circa castellum firmissimum, Alnewich[2] nominatum, ne forte manus ex eo militaris erumpens circumquaque grassantes perturbaret prædones.

A.D. 1174.

The Scottish king watches Alnwick.

Cap. XXXIII.

De captione regis Scottorum.[3]

Rebus se ita circa aquilonales Angliæ partes habentibus, Eboracensis provinciæ regii proceres ingenue indignati, quod Scotti fines Anglicos infestarent, apud Castellum-Novum super fluvium Tinum cum equitatu valido convenerunt. Urgente quippe negotio, pedestres non poterant copias congregare. Venerunt autem illuc[4] sexta Sabbati, longo et laborioso itinere fatigati. Ibi sane cum in commune tractarent quid esset agendum, prudentiores allegarunt, multum jam esse actum, cum rex Scottorum adventu eorum præcognito longius recesserit; suæ hoc mediocritati pro tempore debere sufficere; sibi non esse tutum, nec regi Anglorum utile, ulterius progredi, ne forte paucitatem suam devorandam sicut escam panis infinitæ barbarorum multitudini exponere viderentur; sibi non esse plusquam quadringentos equites, in hostili vero[5] exercitu plusquam octoginta armatorum millia æstimari. Ad hæc ferventiores responderunt,[6] hostes nequissimos

A.D. 1174.

The barons of Yorkshire, preparing to resist the Scotch, assemble at Newcastle. (July 12).

They hesitate to advance.

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[1] S. and R. alone have *et*.

[2] *Alnewich*, C.L.S.; *Alnewick*, B.

[3] This chapter should be read with Fantosme's narrative.

[4] *illuc*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *vero*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[6] *responderunt*, B.C.L.S.; *respondentes*, R.

A.D. 1174.

Bolder counsels prevail, and they push forward.

modis omnibus esse impetendos, victoriam desperari non debere, quæ procul dubio justitiam sequeretur. Denique horum sententia prævalente, quia Deus sic voluit, ut voluntati magis divinæ, quam potentiæ prudentiæve humanæ, ascriberetur[1] eventus, viri virtutis, in quibus erant præcipui Robertus de Stutevilla,[2] Ranulfus de Glanvilla, Bernardus de Baliolo, Willelmus de Vesci,[3] nocturna requie paulisper recreati, summo mane progressi sunt tanta velocitate, tanquam propellente vi aliqua properantes, ut, quod armorum pondere gravatis minus tolerabile videbatur, ante horam quintam viginti quatuor millia passuum transmearent. Verum dum irent, tam densa, ut dicitur, eos operuit nebula, ut pæne nescirent quo irent.

Enveloped in a mist they again hesitate, but at length continue their advance.

Tum[4] prudentiores periculosum iter causantes, certum sibi imminere discrimen allegarunt, nisi mox conversi redirent. Ad hoc Bernardus de Baliolo, vir nobilis atque magnanimus, "Recedat," inquit, "qui voluerit, "ego autem etiamsi nullus sequatur procedam, et "perpetuam mihi maculam non inuram." Cum ergo procederent, subito evanescente nebula, castellum de

The mist lifting they find themselves close to the Scotch king and in sight of Alnwick castle.

Alnewic[5] præ oculis habentes, id sibi tutum fore receptaculum, si hostes urgerent, læti censuerunt. Et ecce rex Scottorum, cum turma equitum circiter sexaginta aut paulo amplius, haud[6] procul in campis patentibus tanquam securus, et nihil minus quam nostrorum irruptionem metuens, observabat, barbarorum multitudine[7] cum parte equitatus ad prædas late dispersa.[8] Qui nimirum nostris conspectis, primo quidem eos de suis a præda redeuntibus esse ratus est. Sed mox vexillis nostrorum caute notatis, tunc demum

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1 *ascriberetur*, B.C.S.; *scriberetur*, L.

2 B. has *Stotevilla*; C. has *Stutivilla*.

3 *Vesci*, B.C.S.; *Wesci*, L.

4 *tum*, C.L.S.; *cum*, B.

5 *Alnewic*, S.; *Alnewyc*, B.; *Alnewich*, C.L.

6 *haud*, C.L.S.; *aut*, B.

7 *multitudine*, B.L.S.; *multitudinem*, C.

8 *dispersa*, B.L.S.; *dispersam*, C.

intellexit nostros jam ausos, quod ipsos nec suspicari potuit esse ausuros. Attamen non est territus, suo quippe tam vasto quamvis minus conglobato circumvallatus exercitu, conclusam illam paucitatem facile absorbendam esse a[1] circumfusa multitudine nec[2] ambigere dignabatur. Illico ferociter arma concutiens, suosque verbo simul et exemplo accendens, "Modo," inquit, "apparebit quis miles esse noverit." Primusque in hostem, sequentibus ceteris, irruens, mox a nostris excipitur, atque interfecto dejectus equo, cum tota fere turma sua capitur. Nam et qui per fugam evadere potuere, eo capto fugam detrectantes, ut cum eo caperentur, in manus se hostium sponte dedere. Quidam etiam nobiles, qui forte tunc aberant, sed non longe erant, agnito quod acciderat, cursu mox rapidissimo affuere, atque in manus hostium ingerentes se potius quam incidentes, dominico communicare periculo honestum duxere. Porro Rogerius de Moubrai,[3] qui ibidem tunc aderat, rege capto, elapsus evasit, refugitque in Scotiam. Nostri vero proceres nobilem cum gaudio prædam revehentes, Castellum-Novum, unde mane digressi fuerant, vespere rediere, eamque, ad dominum suum illustrem Anglorum regem opportune mittendam, apud Richemontem cautissime custodiri fecere. Gestum est hoc feliciter, Deo propitio, anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro factum est M°C°LXX°IV°, tertio Idus Julii, die Sabbati, et mox late vulgatum, atque in cunctis Anglorum provinciis grate susceptum est, campanis pro[4] sollemni lætitia concrepantibus.

A.D. 1174.

King William spurring forward is unhorsed and taken.

Roger de Mowbray escapes to Scotland.

The king of Scotland imprisoned at Richmond.

The battle took place on July 13, 1174.

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[1] *a*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[2] *nec*, C.L.S.; *vero* (?), B.
[3] *Moubrai*, L.S.; *Moubray*, B.; *Mubrai*, C.
[4] *pro*, B.L.S.; *et*, C.

Cap. XXXIV.

Qualia in exercitu et terra regis Scottorum, eo capto, provenerunt.

A.D. 1174.

Their king being captured the Scotch quarrel among themselves.

The English in Scotland are assailed.

Rege igitur Scottorum in manus hostium tradito, funestissimum quoque ejus exercitum perspicua Dei[1] non permisit ultio abire illæsum. Regis quippe captione comperta, barbari primo[2] attoniti a prædis destiterunt, mox, tanquam furiis agitati, ferrum contra hostes sumptum, jamque innoxio sanguine ebrium, in seipsos verterunt. Erat autem in eodem exercitu ingens Anglorum numerus, regni enim Scottici oppida et burgi ab Anglis habitari noscuntur. Occasione ergo temporis Scotti innatum, sed metu regio dissimulatum, in illos odium declarantes, quotquot incidebant[3] peremerunt, refugientibus in munitiones regias ceteris qui evadere potuerunt.

Quarrels of the sons of Fergus of Galloway (after July 13).

Erant etiam in illo exercitu duo fratres, Gilbertus scilicet[4] et Uctredus,[5] Galwadensis[6] provinciæ domini, cum gentis propriæ turma numerosa. Hi nimirum Fergusi, olim principis ejusdem provinciæ, filii fuerant, et patri in fata concedenti, rege Scottorum, qui illius terræ principalis est dominus, hereditatem inter eos dividente, successerant. Verum Gilbertus natu major, paterni juris integritate fraudatum se dolens, fratrem semper[7] in corde suo oderat, cum tamen concepti furoris impetum metus regius cohiberet. Capto autem rege, liberatus hoc metu, mox fratri nihil verenti manus injecit, et non nece simplici, sed pro exsaturando execrabili odio excruciatum suppliciis interfecit. Illico fines invadens fraternos,[8] barbaris in

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[1] L. has *dici.*

[2] *primo,* B.L.R.S.; *qui primo,* C.

[3] *incidebant,* B.L.R.S.; *inciderunt,* C.

[4] *scilicet,* C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *Uctredus,* B.L.R.S.; *Uthdredus,* C. Benedict calls him "consanguineus Henrici regis Angliæ." He was son of an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.

[6] *Galwadensis,* B.L.R.S.; *Galwaithensis,* C.

[7] *fratrem suum semper,* in C.

[8] B has *supernos.*

barbaros sævientibus, non modicam hominum stragem fecit. Erat autem fratri nefarie interempto filius, nomine Rollandus,[1] acer atque industrius adolescens, qui, paternis amicis cooperantibus, debacchanti patruo pro viribus resistebat. Eratque totum regnum Scotiæ turbatum, Deo æquissime disponente, atque ea mensura remetiente improbis, qua[2] ipsi mensi fuerant; scilicet, ut qui paulo ante gentis innoxiæ quietem turbaverant, et Anglorum sitierant sanguinem, ordine pulcherrimo a semetipsis reciperent talionem.

A.D. 1174.

Disturbed state of the whole of Scotland.

Cap. XXXV.

De memorabili humilitate regis Anglorum, et de eo[3] quod consecutum est.[4]

Jam venerat in Angliam a Normannia rex Henricus secundus, filio cum Flandrensibus copiis adventuro suæ murum præsentiæ objecturus. Recordatus autem quantum in ecclesiam Cantuariensem deliquisset, eandem mox, ut applicuit, concite adiit, ad sepulchrum beati pontificis Thomæ, fusis ubertim lacrimis, oravit. Ingressusque capitulum monachorum, prostratus humi[5] humillime veniam postulavit, et propriæ petitionis instantia, a cunctis per ordinem fratribus virgis est vir tantus corporaliter castigatus. Sequenti vero nocte cuidam venerabili ejusdem ecclesiæ monacho seniori dictum est in somnis: "Nonne vidisti[6] hodie humilitatis regiæ tam grande miraculum? Scito quod in brevi quantum hæc regia humilitas Regi regum placuerit, rerum, quæ circa ipsum geruntur, exitus declarabit." Sane hoc

A.D. 1174.

On landing from Normandy (July 8) Henry proceeded at once to the tomb of Becket.

His penance (July 12).

Prophetic dream of one of the monks of Canterbury.

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[1] *Rollandus*, C.L.S.; *Rolandus*, B.

[2] *qua*, B.L.S.; *quam*, C.

[3] *Deo*, in C.

[4] *et . . . est*, C. (with a variation) and L.S.; om. B.

[5] B. omits *humi*.

[6] *vidisti*, B.C.S.; *vidistis*, L.

A.D. 1174. ipsum, viro reverentissimo[1] et sincerissimo, Rogerio scilicet abbate Bellelandensi,[2] referente, cognovi, quod utique sibi fideli innotuisse relatione dicebat, dum forte ipso tempore in Cantia moraretur. Denique, Ipse qui tangit montes et fumigant, illam montis fumigantis devotionem quanti appenderit, insigni mox indicio claruit. Quippe ipsa die, atque ipsa, ut dicitur, hora,[3] qua mons ille Cantuariæ fumigavit, hostem ejus immanissimum, scilicet regem Scottorum, in extremis Angliæ finibus virtus divina pessumdedit; ut merces

Coincidence of time of capture of king of Scotland with time of Henry's penance at Canterbury.

Ps. cxliii. 5.

[1] *reverentissimo* in all the MSS. (B.C.L.S.) collated at this point.

[2] *Bellelandensi*, C.L.S.; *Belelandensi*, B.

[3] In the verification of this assertion much depends on the interpretation of the words *ante horam quintam* (p. 184). If they bear the meaning most ecclesiastics would attach to them (see for instance the hours assigned by Gervase for eclipses) then Newburgh is wrong by about seven hours. If Mr. Stevenson (*Church Historians*, vol. iv., pt. ii., p. 492,) may be followed in translating them "before five o'clock," there is no noticeable discrepancy. If, however, we are to take them as meaning *before the fifth hour of the march*, as Dr. Lingard and M. Francisque Michel would seem to do, the coincidence is similarly established. Taking first the events in the South it is clear that Henry reached Canterbury on July 12, and on that day (as Newburgh and Gervase agree) was scourged by the monks. Gervase proceeds to say that the king remained in the cathedral all night, that "post matutinas laudes" he made a tour of the altars and shrines, and that he then returned to the martyr's tomb in the crypt. Afterwards he heard mass. Supposing that Lauds had finished by four (sunrise), the visit to the altars, with prayers no doubt at each, the return to the crypt, and the mass which followed would naturally occupy the time till half-past five or six o'clock. If we now turn to events in the North we find that Jordan Fantosme, who was present, states (line 1751) that Ranulph de Glanville's party started *in the night* — Newburgh says "summo mane," which so far north and in July may mean almost the same thing — and it appears (p. 184) that before five hours had elapsed they had ridden 24 miles. They then had nine miles to traverse, and if this occupied another hour and a half we may believe that, starting perhaps at midnight, they reached the point (now marked by a stone) where the capture took place a little after six o'clock. They then hid in a thicket, but emerged and attacked the king. All was so quickly over that it is no stretch of imagination to believe, after comparing the narratives of what happened at Canterbury and Alnwick, that the space of a single hour may have included both the capture of the king of Scots and the concluding acts of Henry's penitential devotions.

pii operis non consecuta ipsum opus, sed comitata potius videretur, nullusque super hoc ambigere sineretur. A.D. 1174.

Idem autem princeps Cantuaria digressus, Lundonias properavit, et præmissis adversus Hugonem Bigotum militaribus copiis, ipse, vena incisa, modicam ibidem moram fecit. Et ecce circa noctem mediam missus a Rannulfo de Glanvilla[1] cursor velocissimus ad januam pulsavit regiam. Increpatus a janitore et vigilibus[2] ut taceret, pulsavit instantius, dicens in ore suo bonum esse nuntium, quem modis omnibus oporteret ipsa nocte a rege audiri. Vicit tandem instantis improbitas,[3] præsertim cum bona nuntiaturus speraretur. Admissus[4] ergo intra januam, eodem modo[5] cubicularios quoque[6] vicit regios. Introductusque in cubiculum regium, audacter accessit ad lectum principis, et excitavit quiescentem. Qui expergefactus, "Quis," inquit, "es tu?" Et ille: "Puer," inquit, "sum Rannulfi de "Glamvilla,[7] fidelis vestri, a quo missus celsitudini vestræ "bonus venio nuntius." "Sanusne est," ait, "Rannulfus "noster?" Et ille, "Valet," inquit, "idem dominus "meus, et ecce hostem vestrum regem Scottorum "captum tenet in vinculis apud Richemontem." Rex vero ad hoc[8] stupidus, "Dic," inquit, "adhuc." At ille iteravit verbum; "Habesne," ait, "literas?" Mox ille protulit literas signatas, rei gestæ seriem continentes. Quibus rex statim inspectis, stratu exsiliens, quibus potuit motibus Ei, qui facit mirabilia solus, piis madidas lacrimis gratias egit. Tunc familiares

Henry goes to London, but sends his army against Hugh Bigod. Story of de Glanville's messenger bearing tidings of the capture of William the Lion.

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[1] *Rannulfo de Glanvilla*, S.; *Radulfo de Glanvilla*, B.; *Ranulfo de Glamvilla*, C.; *Ranulfo de Glanvilla*, L.

[2] *et vigilibus*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[3] *improbitas*, C.L.S.; *probitas*, B.

[4] C. has *amissus*.

[5] *modo*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *quoque*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.

[7] *See* note 1.

[8] *ad hoc*, B.L.S.; *adhuc*, C.

A.D. 1174. festinc accitos consortes gaudii fecit.[1] Mane autem venerunt et alii cursores id ipsum nuntiantes, sed unus, id est,[2] qui primus advenerat,[3] bravium accepit.[4] Vulgatum est statim verbum bonum, populis sollemniter acclamantibus, et campanis per totas Lundonias concrepantibus.

Public rejoicings in London.

Cap. XXXVI.

De obsidione[5] Rothomagi, et dolosa oppugnatione[6] obsidentium.

A.D. 1174.

The siege of Rouen by the king of France (July 22).

Interea rex Francorum cum tremendo exercitu Normanniam ab oriente ingressus, qua scilicet captis a comite Flandrensi castellis patere videbatur, Rothomagum[7] ejusdem provinciæ metropolim adiit et obsedit. Est autem Rothomagum[7] una ex clarissimis Europæ civitatibus, sita super Sequanam,[8] fluvium maximum, per quam[9] eidem civitati multarum regionum commercia invehuntur, eodem flumine simul et objectu montium ita munita, ut ab uno exercitu ejus vix tertia pars valeat obsideri. Porro rex junior et Flandrensis comes cum in portu Morinorum,[10] unde brevissimus est in Angliam transitus, classe parata, vastissimis

The young king and the count of Flanders

[1] *Tunc . . . fecit*, this sentence is in the margin of C. and has been mutilated.

[2] *id est*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *advenerat*, B.L.S.; *venerat*, C.

[4] This story receives full confirmation from Jordan Fantosme (lines 1955 to 2040), indeed so close are the agreements between this chronicler and our author that it would seem probable that Newburgh had read Fantosme's poem.

[5] *Rothomagi*, B.L.S.; *Rothomagensi*, C.

[6] C. has *expugnatione*.

[7] *Rothomagum*, C.L.S.; *Rotomagum*, B.; O. has *Metro Rotomagum*.

[8] *Sequanam*, C.L.S.; *Sequenam*, B.; *Sequanam* altered to *Secanam*, O.

[9] B.C.L.O.S. have *quam:* see also the phrase near the end of cap. 34, Lib. iv. "*castellum Windesoram quæ, &c.*" In the present case Newburgh must have assumed license to follow Livy (i. 3, § 5) or some other exceptional classical instance.

[10] *Morinorum*, C.L.S.; *Marinorum*, B.

A.D. 1174.

vallati copiis transfretandi opportunitatem captarent, cognito quod rex senior jam in Anglia consisteret, eorum procul dubio260 ferociter impetum excepturus, transire in Angliam nequaquam sibi tutum duxerunt. Itaque mutato consilio, et toto illo paratæ[1] jam classis apparatu irrito, quanti esset negotii Rothomagensis obsidio, et quanti emolumenti ejusdem civitatis irruptio perpendentes, vastas illas atque terribiles copias Rothomagum transtulerunt, et obsidentem exercitum in[2] immensum auxerunt. Verum cum tantus esset exercitus, quantus in Europa ab annis retro plurimis visus non est, ejusdem tamen urbis, propter accessus difficiles, partem vix tertiam potuit obsidere. Eratque per pontem fluminis liber vel ex regione in urbem ingressus, vel ex urbe in regionem egressus,[3] et inferebantur urbi abundanter quæcunque necessaria, vidente cominus atque invidente[4] hostili exercitu. Et forte[5] illa

abandon idea of invading England.

They join the attack on Rouen.

Natural strength of the position of the city.

Hor. Epist. . 2.

" Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
" Majus tormentum :"

cum viri animosi et fortes tota fere die cominus factitari conspicerent, quod impedire non valentes, tam anxie sustinerent. Paratis ad oppugnandam[6] civitatem machinis, totis viribus oppugnationi[7] insistitur, trifariam ad negotium diviso exercitu, et die naturali per octonas[8] horas partito, ut alii aliis, recreati[9] scilicet lassatis, per vices succederent, atque ita jugi-

By a system of reliefs the besiegers render their attack continuous.

[1] In L. *paratæ* has been altered to *paratu* and then expuncted: the word is in B.C.O.S.

[2] *in*, C.L.O.S.; om. B.

[3] *vel ex urbe . . . egressus*, B.C.S.; this passage is in the margin of L., and is omitted from O.

[4] *atque invidente*, B.C.L.S.; *et incidente*, O.

[5] *forte*, B.L.O.R.S.; *fuit*, C.

[6] *Paratis ad oppugnandam*, A.C.L.S.; *paratus ad pugnandam*, B.

[7] *oppugnationi*, B.L.O.S.; *oppugnationibus*, C.

[8] *octonas*, C.S.; *octavas*, B.L.O.

[9] *recreati*, B.C.L.S.; *creati*, O.

A.D. 1174. ter oppugnantes, ne modico quidem diei vel noctis spatio murorum defensores respirare permitterent. At id frustra provisum. Cives[1] enim huic molitioni arte et cautela consimili occurrentes,[2] ipsi quoque suum trifariam numerum diviserunt, hostibusque[3] oppugnationem[4] per successionem continuantibus distributione sui cautissima respondentes, contra laboris et lassitudinis intolerantiam, qua suffocandi credebantur, competens remedium habuerunt. Cumque per dies plurimos summa vi certaretur, et neque hi neque illi in aliquo remissius agerent, beati Laurentii dies natalitius supervenit. Rex autem Francorum, pro ejusdem præcipui martyris reverentia, quem specialiter[5] et devotius consueverat venerari, requiem ipso die civitati indultam jussit sollemniter præconari.[6] Quam gratiam cives grate amplexi, otio brevissimo jocundissime fruebantur. Juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, tum pro diei[7] lætitia, tum etiam ad irritandum hostem, canoris in civitate vocibus concrepabant: turma vero militaris extra civitatem super ripam fluminis in conspectu hostium hastiludio exercebatur. Tum[8] comes Flandrensis,[9] ut dicitur, regem adiens, "Ecce," ait, "civitas pro qua jam[10] multum sudavimus, his "intus choros ducentibus, et illis foris secure ludentibus, sponte nobis offertur. Sumat ergo arma in "silentio exercitus, scalisque repente muro admotis "ante civitatem obtinebimus quam in civitatem re-"gredi[11] valeant, qui extra civitatem pro irritatione "nostra lusibus vacant." "Absit," inquit rex, "absit

The citizens make corresponding arrangements for the defence.

A truce on the feast of St. Lawrence is treacherously broken by the French (Aug. 10).

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[1] *cives*, B.L.O.S.; *comes*, C.

[2] C. has *occurrens*.

[3] *hostibusque*, B.L.O.S.; *hostibus*, C.

[4] *oppugnationem*, C.L.O.S.; *compugnationem*, B.

[5] *specialiter*, B.L.O.S.; *specialius*, C.

[6] Benedict of Peterborough does not mention this fact. His account of the siege is far less full.

[7] *diei*, B.C.O.S.; *Dei*, L.

[8] *tum*, B.L.O.S.; *tunc*, C.

[9] *Flandrensis*, C.L.O.S.; *Flaundrensis*, B.

[10] *jam*, B.L.O.S.; om. C.R.

[11] *regredi*, C.L.O.S.; *ingredi*, B.

"a me honestatem regiam hac macula denigrare: A.D. 1174.
"nosti enim me pro reverentia beatissimi Laurentii "diei hujus requiem indulsisse civitati." Tunc universis qui aderant proceribus familiari ausu mollitiem improperantibus et dicentibus,

Æneid. ii. 390. "... dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?"

tandem acquievit. Itaque non per vocem tubæ sive[1] præconis, sed solis ducum susurriis exercitus in tentoriis ad irrumpendam præparabatur[2] civitatem. Contigit autem eadem hora per voluntatem Dei in cujusdam intra civitatem ecclesiæ turri præcelsa, ex qua nimirum pulsata campana vetustissima, sed mire sonora, signum civibus dari mos erat, ut hostibus irruentibus ad murum occurrerent, clericos quosdam nescio quid[3] agendo relaxare animum. Quorum forte unus per fenestram prospiciens, circumferensque[4] oculos per exercitum in tentoriis excubantem, insolitum in castris silentium, tanquam arcani alicujus conscium, primo miratus, mox clandestinum illum de loco altissimo caute notatum[5] animadvertit apparatum. Cumque rem sociis ostendisset, Ruuello,[6] sic enim campana illa[7] dicebatur, pulsato, notissimum illico signum civitati dederunt. Quo audito, totis viribus utrinque festinatum est. Nam et paratus jam exercitus castris erumpens,[8] cum scalis tendebat[9] ad murum, et cives inopinato stimulati periculo, raptis[10] armis spiritu motuque fervido occurrere studuerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra urbem exercebantur, mira celeritate affuerunt.

Certain priests on the watch tower give an alarm.

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[1] *sive*, B.L.O.S.; *neque*, C.

[2] *ad irrumpendam præparabatur*, B.L.O.S.; *præparabatur ad irrumpendam*, C.

[3] *quid*, C.L.O.S.; *quod*, B.

[4] *circumferensque*, C.L.O.S; *circumferens*, B.

[5] *notatum*, B.C.L.S.; *vocatum*, O.

[6] *Ruuello*, B.L.O.S.; *Rimello*, C. Chéruel (Hist. de Rouen, I. p. 27) calls this bell *La Rebol*.

[7] *sic . . . illa*, B.S.; C., omitting *enim*; O., omitting *illa*; L. reads *sic campana*.

[8] *erumpens*, B.L.O.S. *irrumpens*, C.

[9] *tendebat*, B.L.O.S.; *tendebant*, C.

[10] *raptis*, B.L.O.S.; *captis*, C.

A.D. 1174. Jam hostes admotis muro scalis murum ascenderant, jam super murum voces quasi triumphantium personabant; cum ecce fortiter impetuntur et repelluntur a civibus. Conflictus super murum acerrimus geritur, jaculis vacantibus, arma et corpora colliduntur, multus utrinque sanguis effunditur. Tandem illi, qui superbe ascenderant sursum, præcipites abiere retrorsum. Nox prœlium diremit,[1] prævaricator exercitus, longe majori clade accepta[2] quam illata, confusus in castra rediit. Rex in Flandrensem comitem culpam refudit, sed personæ regiæ tam fœdæ prævaricationis macula plus adhæsit. Denique ab illo die et deinceps certum est, et obsessos fiducialius, et obsessores desperatius remissiusque[3] egisse.

The treacherous attack is defeated.

Cap. XXXVII.

Quomodo rex Anglorum[4] pacificavit Angliam, et liberavit Rothomagum.

A.D. 1174. Interea rex Henricus senior in Anglia consistens, accersivit præpositos castellorum comitis Leicestrensis, quem secum ex Normannia vinctum adduxerat, et monuit pro salute domini sui eadem resignare castella, quibus provincias infestabant. Illi vero copiam loquendi cum domino suo postulantes, non impetrarunt: cumque se dicerent non aliter quam pro certa domini sui relaxatione voluntati regiæ parituros,[5] ille respondit: "Nihil super hac re vobiscum[6] paciscar, sed si "feceritis quod[7] volo, bene actum erit." Et sacris, ut

King Henry summons the garrisons of the Earl of Leicester's castles to surrender.

[1] *diremit*, O., and S. by alteration; L. has *diremit* altered to *dirimit*; B. (by alteration) and C. read *dirimit*.
[2] *accepta*, C.L.O.S.; om. B.
[3] *remissiusque*, C.L.O.S.; *remissius*, B.
[4] *Anglorum*, B.C.S.; *Angliæ*, L.
[5] *non impetrarunt . . . parituros*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.
[6] *vobiscum*, C.; *vobis*, B.L.S.
[7] *quod*, B.L.S.; *quæ*, C.

dicitur, adhibitis, juravit dicens: "Sic me Deus adju- A.D. 1174.
"vet, et hæc sacra, quia comes Leicestrensis non gustabit quidquam, donec de castellis ejus fiat quod "volo: vos autem[1] abite maturius." Tunc illi certum citumque[2] domino suo, si ulterius obsisterent, exitium impendere videntes, munitiones illico resignarunt. Comes autem David, qui fuerat princeps eorum, relicto Huntedunensi castello, quod mox regi cessit, trepidus in Scotiam concessit. His regiis successibus territi Hugo Bigotus et comes Ferrariensis, ipsi[3] quoque, cautionibus de pace et fidelitate præstitis, in fœdus sponte venerunt. Rebus igitur in Anglia, Deo volente, ad votum dispositis, rex cum ingentibus copiis celeriter transfretavit, ducens secum paulo ante sibi exhibitum regem Scottorum, comitemque Leicestrensem, aliosque captivos insignes. Populis autem per Normanniam ob celerem et felicem[4] ejus reditum exsultantibus, Rothomagum in conspectu hostium pompatice ingressus est. Hostes accepto ante dies paucos de captione regis Scottorum nuntio saucii, ejus quoque sunt repentino et triumphali ex Anglia reditu stupefacti. Attamen in robore multitudinis innumeræ confidentes, in obsidione persistebant. Porro ipse Walensium[5] turmam ex Anglia accitam per noctem latenter emisit, ut[6] silvarum opacitate tecti, nam hoc genus hominum agile et silvarum gnarum est,[7] locis opportunis observarent qua tanto exercitui necessaria convehebantur. Hi nimirum captato tempore silvis erumpentes[8] commeatum invaserunt, equitibus, a quibus deducebatur, in fugam actis, et toto illo apparatu pessumdato cum

The castles are given up (July 31).

David Earl of Huntingdon retires to Scotland.

Hugh Bigod and Earl Ferrers make peace with the king, who returns to Normandy taking his principal prisoners with him (Aug. 8).

Enters Rouen (Aug. 11).

Henry's Welsh troops intercept the supplies of the French army (Aug. 12).

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[1] *autem*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[2] B. has *utrumque*.

[3] C. has *episcopi* in place of *ipsi*.

[4] *et felicem* is repeated in L. and also in C., but in the latter MS. the words are struck out.

[5] *ipse Walensium*, C.L.S.; *autem ipse Wallensium*, B.

[6] *ut*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[7] *est*, B.L.S.; *eum*, C.

[8] *erumpentes*, B.L.S.; *irrumpentes*, C.

A.D. 1174. ingenti hominum et jumentorum exitio, in silvas se receperunt. Tunc vulgatum est silvas Walensibus[1] esse refertas, atque ita intercepto commeatu exercitus per biduum inedia laboravit. Hac necessitate soluta est obsidio, et principes, nullam aliam tanti laboris mercedem quam ignominiam reportantes, cum vasto illo exercitu abierunt, compositis tamen ordinibus ob repellendum periculum, si forte hostes a tergo urgerent. Ita quicquid in regem Anglorum ab hostibus malitiose agentibus vel concinnatum est, vel attentatum, Deo illi propitio, in ejus est gloriam commutatum.

The siege of Rouen abandoned (Aug. 14).

Cap. XXXVIII.

De concordia regum, et pace regnorum.

A.D. 1174.

Peace with France. The young king and his brothers are reconciled to their father (Sept. 29). The count of Flanders relinquishes his conquests.

Cum ergo eidem principi in omnibus, quæ ab ipso vel circa ipsum fiebant, propitia arrideret Divinitas, hostes ejus tot claris ejus[2] successibus territi et humiliati de pace tractare cœperunt: ipsis reformandæ pacis mediatoribus jam effectis, qui fuerant discordiæ præcipui incentores. Itaque celebri inter partes colloquio habito, exitialis ille rancor principum et inquietudo provinciarum pariter quieverunt. Comes Flandrensis regi Anglorum restituit, quod de jure ejus bellicus ei[3] casus contulerat; fidelis de cetero amicitiæ, sive hominii, supererogans cautionem. Ingratissimus quoque filius in gratiam patris rediit, non solum obedientiam et reverentiam de cetero filialem sub fidejussoria multorum cautione[4] pollicitus, verum etiam nova contra ingratos et suspectos filios cautela,

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[1] *Walensibus*, C.L.S.; *Wallensibus*, B.

[2] *tot claris ejus*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[3] *ei*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] L. has *cautio*.

A.D. 1174.

prudenter exacto et sollemniter præstito hominio, patri astrictus. Volebat enim pater, ut, qui fortissimum naturæ vinculum tanquam telam araneæ irreverenter diruperat, saltem jure civili vel gentium ad honestum et utile teneretur: et quoniam scriptum[1] est, "Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur," naturæ violator in lege naturali circa patrem servanda, saltem contemplatione hominii et duplicis, id est, juratoriæ simul et fidejussoriæ cautionis, persisteret,[2] et caveret de cetero ne sibi a patre, non jam tantum patre, sed etiam domino, de jure diceretur, quod prævaricatrici olim plebi a Domino dominorum per prophetam dictum est: "Si pater ego sum, ubi est honor "meus? Et si Dominus ego sum, ubi est timor meus?" Fratres quoque impuberes, quos Francorum consilio patri sollicitatos subtraxerat, ad patrem reduxit; de quibus utique modica fuit quæstio, cum ætatis beneficio excusabiles viderentur. Præterea[3] ad instantiam regis Francorum, aliorumque qui aderant principum, idem illustris rex Anglorum comitem Leicestrensem reliquosque captivos, præter regem Scottorum, absolute relaxavit, et relaxatis bona honoresque restituit; in eundem quoque regem suo tempore prudenter simul et[4] clementer acturus. Processu vero temporis cum[5] eorum, quæ in se ab ingratis et infidis commissa fuerant, immemor videretur, muros Leicestrenses[6] repente subrui, et munitiones omnium qui a se defecerant complanari præcepit: præcavens scilicet in futurum, confringendo cornua superborum, ne quid simile occasione aliqua in posterum attentarent. Tandem vero etiam regem Scottorum pactis interpositis sub cautela

Eccles. iv. 12.

Mal. i. 6.

Release of the Earl of Leicester and other rebels.

The walls of Leicester are subsequently razed (A.D. 1176).

The king of Scotland released (Dec. 8).

[1] B. inserts *ut* before *scriptum*.
[2] C. has *præsisteret*.
[3] *præterea*, B.L.S.; *propterea*, C.
[4] *simul et*, B.L.S.; *simulque*, C.
[5] *cum*, B.C.S.; *cum vero*, L.
[6] *Leicestrenses*, B.; *Leicestrensis*, C.L.S. R. de Diceto (i. 404) says this happened about December 1175.

A.D. 1175.

The convention of Falaise confirmed at York (August).

obsidum[1] relaxavit.[2] Veniensque in Angliam, apud Eboracam metropolim eorundem celebrationem pactorum instituit. Quo[3] cum venisset optimatum suorum vallatus frequentia, prout condictum erat, occurrit ei rex Scottorum cum universis regni sui nobilibus. Qui omnes in ecclesia beatissimi Apostolorum principis regi Anglorum, tanquam principali domino, hominium cum ligiantia, id est, sollemni cautione standi cum eo et pro eo contra omnes homines, rege proprio præcipiente fecerunt. Ipse quoque rex[4] Scottorum coram universa multitudine nobilium utriusque regni regem Anglorum modis sollemnibus dominum suum, seque hominem et fidelem ejus declaravit; eique tria præcipua regni sui munimina, scilicet Rokesburg,[5] Berewic,[6] Castellum-puellarum, loco obsidum[1] tradidit. Quibus actis, optata populi pace fruebantur; et rex Anglorum tantorum operum atque successuum titulis clarus nominatus est usque ad fines terræ. Bellum[7] igitur plusquam civile inter patrem et filium, cum tanto multorum discrimine gestum, hunc finem accepit. Nostræ quoque historiæ liber secundus, hoc exposito, finem accipiat.

The castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Edinburgh are surrendered as pledges in lieu of hostages.

Explicit liber secundus.

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[1] *obsidum*, B.C.S.; *obsidium*, L., both here and below.

[2] As to the convention of Falaise see Bened. Petrob. i. 96.

[3] *quo*, B.C.S.; *quod*, L.

[4] *Willelmus* is here interlined in L. by a different hand, apparently as an explanation.

[5] *Rokesburg*, C.L.S.; *Rokesburth*, B. Two more castles and many hostages were given.

[6] *Berewic*, C.S.; *Berewyck*, B.; *Berewich*, L.

[7] *Bellum . . . accipiat*, B.L.S.; C. omits the whole.

LIBER TERTIUS.

A.D. 1175—1189.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI TERTII.[1]

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[1] B. omits the entire elenchus.

[2] *Hoilandiæ*, L.S.; *Hoylandiæ*, C.

[3] *Rollandum*, L.S.; *Rolandum*, C.

[4] *Epistola . . . Anglorum* appears as a separate head in C.G.L. and S.; C. begins *De epistola*.

Expliciunt Capitula.

[1] *cum*, C.; om. L.S.
[2] *exactione*, L.S.; *actione*, C.
[3] *illam*, L.S.; altered to *illum* in C.
[4] *contigerunt*, C.S.; *attigerunt*, L.

INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS.[1]

Cap. I.

De Lundoniensi concilio, et contentione[2] archiepiscoporum, et inundatione Hoilandiæ.[3]

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Veritas de terra orta est M°C°LXX°V°., qui fuit regis Henrici secundi vicesimus secundus,[4] provinciale concilium Lundoniis celebratum a Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato, considentibus suffraganeis et aliarum ecclesiasticarum personarum cœtu copioso.

A.D. 1175.

Council in London (Westminster, May 18).

Sequenti vero anno[5] Hugo cardinalis, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, nescio quid ordinaturus venit in Angliam.[6] Qui cum totius Angliæ generale concilium celebraturus, favore adjutus regio, utriusque provinciæ, id est, Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, ecclesiasticas personas Lundonias convocasset, statuto concilii die, cum jam sumptis insignibus processurus esset, facta est contentio vehemens inter ipsos archiepiscopos de prioratu sessionis in concilio. Quippe illa
Rom. xii. 10. Apostolica regula, "honore invicem prævenientes," a nostri temporis episcopis[7] ita est abrogata, ut, sollici-

Arrival of a legate (Oct. 27, 1175).

A second council in London (Westminster, March 14, 1176).

The archbishops quarrel as to precedence.

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[1] B. has "*et incipit tertius.*"

[2] *et contentione*, B.L. and in the margin of S.; C. omits the words.

[3] *et . . . Hoilandiæ*, C.L.S.; om. B.; C. reads *Hoylandiæ*.

[4] See p. 117, note 3.

[5] This date (1176) is wrong. Bened. Petrob. places the landing before Nov. 1, 1175, and Gervase's dates agree. R. de Diceto gives Oct. 27, 1175. As regards the date of the council Newburgh is right.

[6] Hugo Petri Leonis, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo: Gervase (i. 256–7) says that Henry procured this visit with a view to divorcing Eleanor. See R. de Diceto (i. 403–410) as to other matters.

[7] L. has *ipsis* in place of *episcopis*.

A.D. 1175-6.

tudine pastorali postposita episcopi quanto pervicacius tanto et[1] vanius[2] de excellentia litigent; et omnis fere episcopalis controversia circa honorum[3] prærogativas versetur. Denique Eboracensis maturius adveniens primam sedem præoccupavit, eandem sibi allegans competere ex antiquo beati Gregorii decreto, quo statutum noscitur, ut metropolitanorum Angliæ ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus. Cantuariensis vero sollemniter posita præoccupatæ sedis querela, secundam sedem, tanquam passus præjudicium, recusavit. Mox subditis ejus ferocius pro ipso æmulantibus, simplex verborum contentio crevit in rixam. Eboracensis autem, quoniam pars adversa fortior erat, loco præmature occupato cum contumelia deturbatus, cappam conscissam illatæ sibi violentiæ indicem legato exhibuit, et Cantuariensem cum quibusdam ejus subditis ad sedem Apostolicam provocavit. Metropolitanis igitur ita contendentibus, rebusque turbatis, concilium non celebratum sed dissipatum est, et qui tanquam ad concilium evocati convenerant rediere in sua.

Beda, Hist. Eccl. I. xxix. § 73.

Their retainers fight.

The council is broken up.

The sea overflows part of Lincolnshire, Jan. 7, 1175?

Eodem sane anno, quo memoratus cardinalis venit in Angliam, oceanus, tanquam peccatis hominum irritatus, plus solito efferbuit, ruptisque in Hoilandia[4] repagulis olim contra tempestivos undarum impetus præparatis, eandem humilem planamque regionem septimo Idus Januarii[5] violentus irrupit; jumenta fere omnia, hominum vero multitudinem necavit, reliquis ascensu[6] vel arborum vel domorum ægre salvatis; et quasi post biduum furore satiato in semetipsum rediit. Cujus nimirum idcirco supra modum fuit

[1] *tanto et*, L.S.; *tantoque*, C.; *tanto*, B.

[2] B. has *erronius*, by late alteration.

[3] *honorum* B.L.S.; *bonorum*, C.

[4] *Hoilandia*, B.L.S.; *Hoylandia*, C.

[5] The Annals of Waverley state that this happened on Jan. 12, 1178.

[6] B., by alteration, reads *assensu*.

hominibus et jumentis exitialis irruptio, quia, tanquam[1] fur eversor nocturnus adveniens, prævideri et præcaveri non potuit. A.D. 1175.

Cap. II.

De reconciliatione domini papæ et[2] imperatoris. A.D. 1177.

The emperor Frederic I. recognises pope Alexander III.

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°LXX°VII°, pontificatus autem domini papæ Alexandri anno xviii°, Frederici imperatoris in eundem venerabilem pontificem invete-
Gen. xlix. 7. rata rabies conquievit. Maledictus furor ejus, quia
Ps. cxliii. 5. pertinax; et indignatio ejus, quia dura. Benedictus autem Dominus, qui tangit montes et fumigant, ipsum enim et pertinacem domuit, et durum mollivit. Siquidem principalibus schismaticis judicio Dei absorptis, Octoviano scilicet, qui papatum prior invaserat, et Guidone[3] Cremensi, qui ejusdem vesaniæ successor[4] exstiterat, cum quidam Johannes Strumensis[5] tertius continuaret errorem, compunctus tandem imperator per viros sapientes et nobiles tractare cœpit de pace. Itaque duo magni principes, sacerdotii scilicet atque imperii, sollemniter convenientes, Deo propitio in patrem et filium transierunt nono calendas Augusti: July 24. sicque ecclesia unita est, cunctis jam schismatis[6] auctoribus atque fautoribus exstinctis sive compunctis. Nam et ille, qui Octoviano et Guidoni[3] de medio factis, schismatici furoris continuator exstiterat, confusus et dejectus elanguit, cum favor circa eum imperatorius exspiravit. Quibus feliciter gestis, dominus papa, tanquam post tanti temporis scandala resarcitæ

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[1] *tanquam*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *Guidone*, C.L.S.; *Gwidone*, B. and in the second instance *Guidoni*, L.S.; *Gwyndoni*, B.; *Guydoni*, C.

[4] C., by correction, reads *succensor*.

[5] He was called Calixtus III.

[6] *schismatis*, B.; *schismaticis*, C.L.R.S.

A.D. 1179. — The Third Lateran Council, March 11 (5–19 March).

unitatis gaudia sollemniter celebraturus, generale concilium anno pontificatus sui xx°, a partu autem Virginis anno M°C°LXX°IX°,[1] quinto Idus Martii, Lateranis celebrandum[2] instituit; ad quod nimirum totius Latini orbis episcopos cum majoris loci abbatibus evocavit. Quod autem convocandi concilii intentio satis sincera non fuerit, Romanæ avaritiæ artificiosa provisio patefecit. Multi enim evocati,[3] quibus iter eundi ad concilium difficile vel intolerabile videbatur, interventu pecuniæ impudentius[4] turpiusque exactæ quam præstitæ, relaxari meruerunt. Sane hujus concilii decreta nostræ duximus historiæ inserenda.

Cap. III.[5]

Decreta Lateranensis concilii.

A.D. 1179. — (March 5–19.) Decrees of the Third Lateran Council.

In the election of popes a majority of not less than two thirds of the sacred college is essential.

" Licet de vitanda discordia in electione Romani pontificis manifesta satis a prædecessoribus nostris instituta manaverint; quia sæpe post illam, per improbæ ambitionis audaciam, gravem passa est scissuram ecclesia, nos etiam ad hoc malum evitandum de consilio fratrum nostrorum, et sacri approbatione concilii aliquid decernimus[6] adjungendum. Statuimus ergo, ut, si forte inimico homine superseminante zizania, inter cardinales de substituendo pontifice non potuerit esse plena concordia, et duabus partibus concordantibus, tertia pars concordare noluerit, aut sibi alium præsumpserit nominare; ille ab universa ecclesia recipiatur episcopus, qui a duabus partibus electus fuerit et receptus. Si quis autem de tertiæ partis nominatione confisus, quia rem non potest, nomen sibi episcopi usurpaverit; tam ipse quam qui eum receperint excommunicationi subjaceant, et totius sacri ordinis privatione

Matth. xiii. 25.

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[1] B.L. and S. have M°LXX°IX°.
[2] C. has *celebrandi*.
[3] *evocati*, B.L.S.; *vocati*, C.
[4] *impudentius*, C.L.S.; *impudicius*, by 15th cent. alteration, B.
[5] B. omits this chapter. These canons differ as regards order and wording from those in Labbe (vol. xxii.) and Ben. Petr. (i. 222–238).
[6] C. has *decrevimus*.

A.D. 1179.

" mulctentur; ita ut viatici etiam eis nisi tantum in ultimis " communio denegetur; et nisi resipuerint cum Dathan et " Abiron, quos terra vivos absorbuit, accipiant portionem. " Præterea si a paucioribus aliquis quam a duabus partibus " electus fuerit ad Apostolatus officium, nisi major assensus " et concordia intercesserit, nullatenus assumatur, et prædictæ " pœnæ subjaceat, si humiliter noluerit abstinere. Ex hoc " tamen nullum canonicis institutionibus et aliis ecclesiis " præjudicium generetur, in quibus majoris et sanioris par- " tis debet sententia prævalere, quia quod in eis dubium " venerit, superioris judicio poterit diffiniri: in Romana " vero curia et ecclesia speciale aliquid constituitur, quia " non potest ad superiorem recursus haberi.

Ordinations, &c. performed by the antipopes declared null.

" Quod a prædecessore nostro felicis memoriæ Innocentio " factum est innovantes: ordinationes ab Octoviano[1] et " Guidone hæresiarchis, necnon et Johanne Strumensi, qui " eos secutus est, factas, et ab ordinatis ab eis, irritas esse " censemus. Adjicientes etiam, ut qui dignitates ecclesias- " ticas seu beneficia per prædictos schismaticos acceperunt, " careant impetratis. Alienationes quoque seu invasiones, " quæ per eosdem schismaticos sive per laicos factæ sunt " de rebus ecclesiasticis, omni careant firmitate, et ad eccle- " siam, sine omni ejus onere, revertantur. Si quis contra- " ire[2] præsumpserit, excommunicationi se noverit subjacere. " Illos autem, qui sponte juramentum de tenendo schismate " præstiterunt, a sacris ordinibus et dignitatibus decernimus " esse suspensos.

Rules respecting the age, election, and consecration of bishops.

" Cum in cunctis sacris ordinibus et ecclesiasticis mini- " steriis et ætatis maturitas, et gravitas morum, et literarum " scientia sit attendenda et quærenda: multo fortius in " episcopo hæc oportet inquiri, qui ad curam aliorum in se- " ipso debet ostendere qualiter alios oporteat in domo Do- " mini conversari. Ea propter, ne quod de quibusdam ex " necessitate temporis factum est in exemplum trahatur a " posteris, præsenti decreto statuimus, ut nullus in episco- " pum eligatur, nisi qui jam tricesimum annum ætatis im- " pleverit, et de legitimo sit matrimonio natus, qui etiam " vita et scientia commendabilis demonstretur. Cum autem " qui electus fuerit, et confirmationem electionis acceperit,

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[1] *Octoviano*, C.L.S. | [2] *contraire*, L.S.; *contrarie*, C.

A.D. 1179. " et ecclesiasticorum bonorum administrationem habuerit' " decurso tempore de consecrandis episcopis a canonibus " definito, is[1] ad quem spectant beneficia quæ habuerat, " disponendi de illis liberam habeat facultatem.

Regulations respecting the clergy, their age, education, benefices, &c.

" Inferiora etiam ministeria, ut puta decanatus, archidiaco- " natus, et alia quæ animarum curam habent annexam, nul- " lus omnino suscipiat, sed nec parochialium ecclesiarum " regimen, nisi qui jam vicesimum quintum annum ætatis " attigerit, et qui scientia et moribus commendandus exsis- " tat. Cum vero quis assumptus fuerit, si archidiaconus vel " decanus et reliqui admoniti non fuerint, præfixo a canoni- " bus tempore, in presbyteros ordinati; et ab illo removeantur[2] " officio, et alii conferatur qui et velit et possit illud con- " venienter implere. Nec prosit ei appellationis diffugium, " si forte in transgressione constitutionis istius per appella- " tionem voluerit se tueri. Hoc sane non solum de promo- " vendis, sed de iis etiam qui jam promoti sunt, si canones " non obsistant, præcipimus observandum. Clerici sane si " contra formam istam quenquam elegerint, et eligendi tunc " potestate privatos, et ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis triennio " noverint se esse suspensos. Dignum est enim, ut quos " Dei timor a malo non revocat, ecclesiasticæ saltem coer- " ceat severitas disciplinæ. Episcopus etiam, si aut fecerit " contra hoc, aut senserit fieri, in conferendis prædictis offi- " ciis potestatem suam amittat per[3] capitulum, aut per me- " tropolitanum, etiamsi capitulum[4] concordare noluerit.

Against supporters of the Albigenses.

" Sicut ait beatus Leo papa, 'licet ecclesiastica disciplina,[5] " 'sacerdotali contenta judicio, cruentas effugiat ultiones,' " catholicorum tamen principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, " ut sæpe quærant homines salutare remedium, dum cor- " porale super se metuunt judicium vel supplicium evenire. " Ea propter quia in Wasconia, Albegesio, et partibus Tolo- " sanis,[6] et aliis locis ita hæreticorum, quos alii Catharos, " alii Publicanos, alii Paterinos, alii aliis nominibus vocant, " invaluit damnanda perversitas, ut jam non in occulto, " sicut alii, nequitiam suam exerceant, sed errorem suum " publice manifestent, et ad consensum suum simplices " attrahant et infirmos: eos, et defensores eorum, et recep-

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[1] *is*, L.S.; *his*, C.
[2] *removeantur* in C.L.R.S.
[3] *per*, L.S.; *si per*, C.
[4] C. has *capitulo*.
[5] *disciplina*, C.S.; *beneficia*, L.
[6] *Tolosanis*, L.S.; *Tholosanis*, C.

" tores, anathemati decernimus[1] subjacere, et sub anathemate " prohibemus, ne quis eos in domo vel in terra sua tenere " vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat. " Si autem in hoc peccato decesserint, nec sub privilegio- " rum nostrorum quibuscunque indultorum obtentu, nec " sub alia quacunque occasione, aut oblatio pro eis fiat, " aut inter Christianos accipiant sepulturam. A.D. 1179.

" De Brebantionibus et Arragonensibus, Navariis, Bascu- " lis, et Coterellis, qui tantam in Christianos immanitatem " exercent, ut nec ecclesiis nec monasteriis deferant, nec " viduis et pupillis, non pueris aut senibus, non cuilibet " parcant ætati aut sexui, sed more paganorum omnia per- " dant et vastent, similiter constituimus, ut ipsi, qui eos " conduxerint vel tenuerint vel foverint, per regiones, in " quibus taliter debacchantur, in dominicis et aliis diebus " sollemnibus in ecclesiis excommunicati publice denunti- " entur, et eadem omnino sententia et pœna cum prædictis " hæreticis habeantur astricti: nec ad communionem reci- " piantur ecclesiæ, nisi societate illa pestifera et hæresi " abjuratis.[2] Relaxatos autem se noverint a debito fideli- " tatis, seu hominii, aut totius obsequii, donec in tanta " iniquitate permanserint, quicunque illis aliquo pacto te- " neantur annexi. Cunctis autem fidelibus in remissionem " peccatorum injungimus, ut tantis cladibus se opponant, " et contra eos armis tueantur populum Christianum. Con- " fiscentur quoque bona eorum, et liberum sit principibus " hujusmodi pestilentes homines subjicere servituti. Qui " autem in pœnitentia vera ibi decesserint, et peccatorum " indulgentiam, et fructum mercedis æternæ se[3] non dubi- " tent habituros. Nos etiam[4] de misericordia Dei, et be- " atorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, " fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et " ad episcoporum sive aliorum prælatorum consilium ad " eos decertaverint expugnandos, biennium de injuncta pœ- " nitentia relaxamus: aut si longiorem ibi moram habu- " erint, episcoporum discretioni, quibus hujus rei cura fuerit " injuncta, committimus, ut ad eorum arbitrium, secundum

Those who hire Brabançons and other mercenary troops should be excommunicated.

Mercenaries may be enslaved by rulers of states.

Indulgences promised to those who under the direction of their bishops

[1] *decernimus,* L.S.; *decrevimus,* C.R.
[2] C. has *abjurata.*
[3] *se,* C.S.; om. L.
[4] *etiam,* L.R.S.; *autem,* C.

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take up arms against Brabançons, &c.

" modum laboris, major eis indulgentia tribuatur. Illos " autem, qui admonitioni episcoporum in hujusmodi parere " contempserint, a perceptione corporis et sanguinis Domini " jubemus fieri alienos. Interim vero eos, qui ardore fidei " ad expugnandum eos laborem istum assumpserint, sicut " eos, qui sepulchrum Domini visitant, sub ecclesiæ defen- " sione recipimus; et ab universis inquietationibus, tam in " rebus quam in personis, statuimus manere securos. Si " vero quisquam interim eos molestare præsumpserit, per " episcopum loci excommunicationis sententia feriatur, et " tam diu sententia ab omnibus observetur, donec et ablata " reddantur, et de illatis injuriis congrue satisfiat.[1] Epi- " scopi vero sive presbyteri, qui talibus fortiter non resti- " terint, officii sui suspensione mulctentur, donec misericor- " diam Apostolicæ sedis obtineant.

Against oppressive taxation of the clergy.

" Non minus pro illorum peccato qui faciunt, quam pro " eorum[2] detrimento qui sustinent, grave nimis esse dig- " noscitur, quod in diversis partibus mundi rectores et " consules civitatum, necnon et alii qui potestatem habere " videntur, tot ecclesiis onera frequenter imponunt, ita " gravibus eas et crebris exactionibus premunt, ut deteri- " oris conditionis sub eis factum sacerdotium videatur quam " sub Pharaone fuerit, qui divinæ legis notitiam non ha- " buit. Ille quidem, omnibus aliis servituti subactis, sacer- " dotes suos et possessiones eorum in pristina libertate " dimisit, et de publico eis alimoniam ministravit. Isti[3] " vero universa fere onera sua imponunt ecclesiis, et tot " angariis ipsas affligunt, ut illud eis, quod Jeremias de- " plorat, competere videatur; 'Princeps provinciarum facta " 'est sub tributo.' (Lament. i. 1.) Sive fossata, seu expeditiones, sive " alia quælibet sibi arbitrentur agenda, de bonis ecclesia- " rum et clericorum pauperum Christi usibus deputatis " cuncta volunt compleri. Jurisdictionem etiam et auctori- " tatem episcoporum et aliorum[4] prælatorum ita evacuant, " ut nil potestatis eis in suis videatur hominibus reman- " sisse. Super quo dolendum est pro ecclesiis, dolendum " nihilominus et pro ipsis qui timorem Dei et ecclesiastici " ordinis reverentiam videntur penitus abjecisse. Quocirca

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[1] *satisfiat*, L.R.S.; *satisfecerit*, C.
[2] *eorum*, L.S.; *illorum*, C.
[3] C. has *iste*.
[4] *aliorum*, L.S.; *aliorumque*, (omitting *et*), C.

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" sub anathematis districtione severius prohibemus ne talia " de cetero attemptare præsumant, nisi episcopus vel clerus " tantam necessitatem et utilitatem inspexerint, ut absque " coactione ad relevandas[1] communes necessitates, ubi laico- " rum non suppetunt facultates, subsidia per ecclesias exis- " timent conferenda. Si autem consules aut alii de cetero " ista commiserint, et commoniti desistere forte noluerint; " tam ipsi quam fautores eorum excommunicationi se nove- " rint subjacere: nec communioni fidelium reddantur, nisi " satisfactionem fecerint competentem pœnitentes.

Institution of clerks by laymen, and other interferences with the clergy prohibited.

" Præterea quia in tantum quorundam laicorum processit " audacia, ut, episcoporum auctoritate neglecta, clericos insti- " tuant in ecclesiis, et removeant etiam cum voluerint, pos- " sessiones quoque atque alia ecclesiastica bona pro sua " plerumque voluntate distribuant, et tam ecclesias ipsas, " quam homines earum talliis et exactionibus gravari præ- " sumant, eos qui amodo ista commiserint anathemate de- " cernimus feriendos. Presbyter autem sive clericus, qui " ecclesiam per laicos sine proprii episcopi auctoritate rece- " perit, communione privetur, et si perstiterit, a ministerio " ecclesiastico et ordine deponatur.

Laymen forbidden to force clerics to abide by the decisions of civil courts.

" Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas et ipsos " etiam episcopos judicio suo stare compellunt, eos, qui de " cetero id præsumpserint, a communione fidelium decerni- " mus[2] segregandos. Prohibemus insuper, ne laici decimas " cum animarum suarum periculo detinentes, in[3] alios laicos " possint aliquo modo transferre. Si vero receperint, et " ecclesiæ non reddiderint, Christiana sepultura priventur.

Where there are several patrons of a benefice the majority must elect the priest.

" Quia in quibusdam locis fundatores ecclesiarum, aut " heredes eorum, potestate in qua eos ecclesia hucusque " sustinuit abutuntur; cum in ecclesia Dei unus debeat esse " qui præsit, ipsi plures sine respectu subjectionis eligere " moliuntur, et cum una ecclesia unius debeat esse rectoris, " pro sua dispensatione plures repræsentant: quocirca præ- " senti decreto statuimus, ut si forte in plures partes funda- " torum se vota diviserint,[4] ille præficiatur ecclesiæ, qui ma- " joribus juvatur meritis, et plurium eligitur et probatur

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[1] *relevandas*, R.S.; *revelandas*, C.L.

[2] *decernimus*, L.S.; *decrevimus*, C.

[3] *in*, C.S.; *ut*, L.

[4] *diviserint*, L.S.; *diviserunt*, C.

A.D. 1179. " assensu. Si autem hoc[1] sine scandalo esse nequiverit, " ordinet antistes ecclesiam sicut melius eam, secundum " Deum, viderit ordinandam. Id ipsum etiam faciat, si de " jure patronatus quæstio emerserit inter aliquos, et cui " competat infra tres menses non fuerit diffinitum.

Excommunication denounced against those who sell arms to the Saracens or are guilty of piracy or wrecking.

"Ita quorundam animos occupat sæva cupiditas, ut cum " glorientur nomine Christiano, Sarracenis[2] arma, ferrum " et lignamina deferant galearum; et[3] pares aut etiam " superiores in malitia fiant illis, dum ad impugnandos " Christianos arma eis et necessaria subministrant. Sunt " etiam qui pro sua cupiditate in galeis et piraticis Sarra- " cenorum[4] navibus regimen et curam gubernationis exer- " cent. Tales igitur ab ecclesiæ communione præscisos, et " excommunicationi pro sua iniquitate subjectos, et rerum " suarum per principes seculi catholicos et consules civita- " tum privatione mulctari, et capientium servos, si capti " fuerint, fore censemus. Præcipimus autem, ut per eccle- " sias maritimarum urbium crebra et sollemnis in eos fiat " excommunicatio. Excommunicationis quoque pœnæ sub- " dantur, qui Romanos aut alios Christianos pro negotia- " tione vel aliis honestis causis navigio vectos, aut capere, " aut rebus suis spoliare præsumunt. Illi etiam, qui " Christianos naufragium patientes, quibus secundum re- " gulam fidei auxilio esse tenentur, damnanda cupiditate " rebus suis spoliare præsumunt, nisi ablata reddiderint, " excommunicationi se noverint subjacere.

No payment to be exacted from those who take the cowl. Monks forbidden to have private property. They are never to be assigned to posts outside their convents.

"Monachi non pretio recipiantur[5] in monasterio, non " peculium permittantur habere, non singuli per villas et " oppida seu quascunque parochiales ponantur ecclesias; sed " in majori conventu, aut cum aliquibus fratribus maneant, " ne soli inter seculares homines spiritualium hostium con- " flictum exspectent; Salomone dicente, 'Væ soli; quia Eccles. iv. 10.
" 'cum[6] ceciderit, non habet sublevantem.' Si quis autem " exactus pro sua receptione aliquid dederit, ad sacros " ordines non ascendat. Is autem qui cum receperit, officii " privatione mulctetur. Qui vero peculium habuerit, nisi ab " abbate fuerit ei pro injuncta administratione commissum,

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[1] *hoc*, C.S.; om. L.

[2] L. has *Sarrazenus.*

[3] *et*, L.S.; *aut*, C.

[4] *Sarracenorum*, C.S.; *Sarrazenorum*, L.

[5] Imperfect (*recipiantur*) in C.

[6] *cum*, L.R.S.; *si*, C.

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"a communione removeatur altaris, et qui in extremis cum peculio inventus fuerit, nec oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter fratres recipiat sepulturam. Quod etiam de diversis religiosis præcipimus[1] observari. Abbas autem, qui ista non curaverit, officii sui jacturam se noverit incursurum.

Promotion in monasteries not to be purchased. Priors, &c. not to be often changed.

"Prioratus quoque, seu obedientiæ, pretii datione nulli tradantur. Alioquin dantes et accipientes a ministerio fiant ecclesiastico alieni.[2] Priores autem in conventualibus ecclesiis constituti, nisi pro manifesta et rationabili[3] causa, non mutentur; videlicet si dilapidatores fuerint, si incontinenter vixerint, aut tale quid egerint, pro quo amovendi sint[4] merito, aut etiam pro necessitate majoris officii de consilio fratrum fuerint transferendi.

1 Cor. xii. 23.

Leper hospitals to be provided with priests; to be free from tithes, &c.

"Cum dicat apostolus Paulus abundantiorem honorem membris infirmioribus[5] deferendum; e contra quidam quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi, quærentes, leprosos, qui cum sanis habitare non possunt, proprii non permittunt juvari ministerio sacerdotis. Quod quia procul a pietate Christiana esse dignoscitur, de benignitate Apostolica constituimus, ut ubicunque tot simul sub communi vita fuerint congregati, quod ecclesiam cum cœmeterio sibi constituere, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero, sine contradictione aliqua permittantur habere. Caveant tamen ut injuriosi veteribus ecclesiis de jure parochiali nequaquam exsistant. Quod enim pro pietate eis conceditur, ad aliorum injuriam nolumus redundare. Statuimus etiam ut de hortis et nutrimentis animalium suorum decimas tribuere non cogantur.

Christians not to dwell in the houses of Jews or Saracens. The testimony of Jews never to be allowed greater

"Judæi sive Sarraceni nec sub alendorum puerorum suorum obtentu, nec pro servitio vel aliqua alia qualibet causa, Christiana mancipia in domibus suis permittantur habere. Excommunicentur autem qui cum ipsis præsumpserint habitare. Testimonium autem Christianorum adversus Judæos in omnibus causis, cum illi adversus Christianos testibus suis utantur, recipiendum[6] esse censemus, et anathemate decernimus[7] feriendos, quicunque Judæos[8]

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[1] Imperfect (*precimus*) in L. and S.

[2] *alieni*, L.S.; *alienati*, C.

[3] Imperfect (*rationabi*) in S.

[4] *sint*, C.R.S.; *sunt*, L.

[5] *infirmioribus*, L.R.S.; *inferioribus*, C.

[6] *recipiendos* in C.L.R.S.

[7] *decernimus*, L.R.S.; *decrevimus*, C.

[8] *Judæos*, in recent hand in L.

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weight than that of Christians. Converts to retain all their property.

"Christianis in hac parte præferre præsumpserint,[1] cum eos "Christianis subjacere oporteat, et ab eis pro sola humani- "tate foveri. Si qui præterea, Deo inspirante, ad fidem se "converterint Christianam, a possessionibus suis nullatenus "excludantur, cum melioris conditionis conversos ad fidem "esse oporteat, quam antequam fidem susciperent[2] habe- "bantur. Si autem secus factum fuerit, principibus seu "potestatibus eorundem locorum sub pœna excommunicatio- "nis injungimus, ut portionem hereditatis et bonorum suo- "rum ex integro faciant eis exhiberi.

Against plurality of benefices.

"Quia nonnulli modum avaritiæ non ponentes, et diver- "sas dignitates ecclesiasticas, et plures ecclesias parochiales "contra sanctorum canonum instituta nituntur acquirere; "ita ut cum unum officium vix implere sufficiant, stipendia "sibi vindicent plurimorum; ne id de cetero fiat districtius "inhibemus. Cum igitur vel ecclesia vel ecclesiarum mini- "sterium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quæratur, "qui residere in loco, et curam ejus per se ipsum valeat "exercere. Quod si aliter actum fuerit, et qui receperit, "quod contra sacros canones receperit, amittat; et qui dede- "rit, largiendi potestate privetur. Et quia in tantum[3] jam "quorundam processit ambitio, ut non duas vel tres, sed sex "aut plures perhibeantur habere, cum nec duabus possint "debitam provisionem impendere; per fratres[4] et coepiscopos "nostros hoc emendari præcipimus, et de multitudine cano- "nibus inimica, quæ dissolutionis materiam et vagationis in- "ducit, et certum continet periculum animarum, eorum, qui "in ecclesiis[5] deservire valeant, indigentiam[6] sublevari.[7]

Usurers to be excommunicated.

"Quia in omnibus fere locis ita crimen usurarum inva- "luit, ut multis negotiis aliis prætermissis, quasi licite usu- "ras exercere valeant, et qualiter utriusque testamenti pagina "condemnentur nequaquam attendant; constituimus, ut usu- "rarii manifesti nec ad communionem admittantur altaris, "nec Christianam, si in hoc peccato decesserint, habeant "sepulturam, sed nec oblationem eorum quisquam recipiat.

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[1] *præsumpserint*, L.; *præsumpserit*, S.C.

[2] *susciperent*, L.S.; *acceperent* (sic), C.

[3] *in tantum*, L.S.; *in terra jam in tantum*, C.

[4] *per fratres*, L.S.; om. C.

[5] *ecclesiis*, L.R.S.; *ecclesias*, C.

[6] C. has *indigentia*.

[7] R. omits all the remaining canons. Picard's edition likewise omits the rest.

"Qui autem receperit, aut Christianæ eos tradiderit sepul- A.D. 1179.
"turæ, et ea quæ accepit reddere compellatur, et,[1] donec
"ad arbitrium sui episcopi satisfecerit, ab officii sui maneat
"executione suspensus.

Clerks not to alienate the goods of benefices.

"Cum in officiis caritatis primo loco illis videamur ob-
"noxii a quibus beneficium nos cognoscimus recepisse, e
"contra quidam clerici cum ab ecclesiis suis multa bona
"perceperint, bona per ecclesias acquisita in alios transferre
"præsumunt. Hoc igitur quia in antiquis canonibus con-
"stat esse inhibitum, nos etiam nihilominus inhibemus.
"Integritati itaque ecclesiæ providere volentes, sive intes-
"tati decesserint sive aliis conferre voluerint, penes ecclesias
"eadem bona præcipimus remanere.

Against the simoniacal appointment of deputies by bishops.

"Præterea, quoniam quidam in quibusdam partibus sub[2]
"pretio statuuntur qui decani vocantur, et pro certa pecu-
"niæ quantitate episcopalem jurisdictionem exercent; præ-
"senti decreto statuimus, ut qui de cetero id præsumpserint
"officio suo priventur, et episcopus conferendi hoc officium
"potestatem amittat.

Numbers and seniority must prevail in the ordering of the internal affairs of churches.

"Cum in cunctis ecclesiis quod pluribus et senioribus
"fratribus visum fuerit[3] incunctanter debeat observari;
"grave nimis est et reprehensione dignissimum, quod per
"quasdam ecclesias pauci quandoque non tam de ratione
"quam propria voluntate ordinationem multorum impediunt,
"et ordinationem ecclesiasticam procedere non permittunt.
"Quocirca præsenti decreto statuimus, ut nisi a paucioribus
"et inferioribus id[4] rationabile ostensum fuerit, appellatione
"remota prævaleat semper, et suum consequatur effectum,
"quod a majoris et sanioris partis consiliis fuerit constitu-
"tum. Nec constitutionem nostram impediat, si forte ali-
"quis ad conservandam ecclesiæ suæ consuetudinem jura-
"mento se dicat astrictum; non enim dicenda sunt juramenta,
"sed perjuria potius, quæ extra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et
"sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta. Si quis autem hujus-
"modi consuetudines, quæ non ratione juvantur nec sacris
"congruunt institutis, jurare præsumpserit, donec condignam
"egerit pœnitentiam, a perceptione Dominici corporis alienus
"exsistat.

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[1] *et*, L.S.; om. C.
[2] C. omits *sub*.
[3] *fuerit*, L.S.; *fuerint*, C.
[4] Bened. Petrob. has "rationabile "*aliquid* fuerit ostensum."

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Clerics, pilgrims, and others are not to be molested, nor burdened with new taxes.

" Innovamus itidem ut presbyteri, clerici, monachi, peregrini, conversi, mercatores, rustici, euntes et redeuntes, et in agricultura exsistentes, et animalia quibus arant, sive quibus ad agrum semina portant, continua securitate lætentur, nec quispiam[1] alicubi novas pedagionum[2] exactiones aut statutas de novo tenere aut veteres augere aliquomodo præsumat. Si quis enim contra hoc venerit, et commonitus non destiterit, donec satisfecerit communione careat Christiana.

Bishops not to exact extravagant hospitality from the lower clergy. Limitation of equipage allowed to church dignitaries.

" Cum Apostolus se et[3] suos propriis manibus decreverit exhibendos, ut locum prædicandi auferret pseudo-apostolis, et illis quibus prædicabat non exsisteret onerosus; grave nimis et emendatione dignum esse dignoscitur, quod quidam fratrum et coepiscoporum nostrorum ita graves in procurationibus subditis suis exsistant, ut pro hujusmodi causa ipsa interdum ecclesiastica ornamenta subditi exponere cogantur, et longi temporis victum brevis hora consumat. Quocirca statuimus, quod archiepiscopi parochias visitantes pro diversitatibus provinciarum et facultatibus ecclesiarum xl. vel l. evectionum numerum, episcopi xxx. vel xx., cardinales vero ix. vel xv.[4] nequaquam excedant; archidiaconi vero v. aut vii., decani autem[5] constituti sub ipsis duobus equis contenti subsistant. Nec cum canibus venatoriis aut avibus proficiscantur, sed ita procedant ut nunquam quæ sua sunt sed quæ Jesu Christi quærere videantur. Prohibemus igitur ne subditos suos tailliis[6] et exactionibus gravare præsumant episcopi. Sustinemus autem pro multis necessitatibus quæ aliquotiens superveniunt, si manifesta et rationabilis causa exstiterit, ut cum caritate moderatum valeant ex illis auxilium postulare. Cum enim[7] dicat Apostolus, non debent filii thesaurizare parentibus, sed parentes filiis, multum longe a paterna pietate videtur, si præpositi suis subditis graves exsistant, quos in cunctis necessitatibus pastoris debent more fovere. Archidiaconi vero sive decani nullas exactiones vel taillias[8] in presbyteros sive clericos exercere præsumant. Sane quod

2 Cor. xii. 14.

[1] *quispiam*, L.S.; *quisquam*, C.

[2] All the MSS. collated at this point (C.L. and S.) have the form *pedagionum* in place of *pedagiorum*.

[3] *et*, by correction, L.; *aut*, C.S.

[4] xv., L.S.; *undecim*, C.

[5] *autem*, L.S.; *aut*, C.

[6] *tailliis*, L.S.; *in talliis*, C.

[7] *enim*, L.S.; *autem*, C.

[8] C. has *tallias*.

A.D. 1179.

" de prædicto numero evectionum secundum tolerantiam dictum est, in illis locis poterit observari in quibus ampliores sunt redditus et ecclesiasticæ facultates. In pauperioribus autem locis tantam volumus teneri mensuram, ut ex accessu majorum minores non debeant gravari, ne sub tali indulgentia illi, qui paucioribus equis uti solebant, plurimam sibi credant [1] potestatem indultam.

No benefices to be promised or assigned until actually vacant.

" Nulla ecclesiastica beneficia, seu etiam ministeria vel ecclesia, alicui attribuantur [2] seu promittantur antequam vacent; ne desiderare quis mortem proximi sui videatur, in cujus locum et beneficium se crediderit successurum, cum hoc etiam ipsorum gentilium legibus inveniatur inhibitum. Turpe nimis est et divini plenum animadversione judicii, si locum in ecclesia Dei futuræ successionis exspectatione habeamus, quod ipsi etiam gentiles homines condemnare dicuntur. Cum autem prædictas ecclesias, seu quælibet officia ecclesiastica vacare contigerit, vel etiam si modo vacant, non diu maneant in suspenso, sed infra sex menses personis quæ digne ministrare valeant conferantur. Si autem episcopus, ubi ad eum spectat, sine rationabili causa distulerit conferre, per capitulum ordinetur. Quod si ad capitulum ordinatio pertinuerit, et infra præscriptum terminum similiter hoc [3] non fecerit, episcopus secundum Deum hoc cum religiosorum virorum consilio exsequatur. Aut si forte omnes neglexerint, metropolitanus de ipsis, secundum Deum, absque contradictione disponat.

Benefices to be filled with due promptitude.

No one to be ordained without a title.

" Præterea, si episcopus sine certo titulo, de quo possit necessaria [4] vitæ percipere, diaconem vel presbyterum ordinaverit, tamdiu ei necessaria vitæ subministret, donec in aliqua eidem ecclesia convenientia stipendia clericalis militiæ assignet; nisi forte talis fuerit, qui ordinatus exstiterit, quod de sua vel paterna hereditate vel alia honesta causa subsidium vitæ habere potuerit.

Money not to be received for installations, inductions, burials,

" Cum in ecclesiæ corpore omnia debeant ex caritate tractari, et quod gratis receptum [5] est gratis impendi, horribile nimis est quod in quibusdam ecclesiæ locis venalitas perhibetur locum habere: ita ut pro episcopis vel abbatibus seu quibuscunque personis ecclesiasticis ponendis in sede,

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[1] *credant*, C.S.; *credent*, L.
[2] C. has *tribuantur*.
[3] *hoc*, C.S.; *hoc si*, by alteration, L.
[4] *necessaria*, L.S.; C. has *ecclesia*.
[5] *receptum*, L.S.; *acceptum*, C.

A.D. 1179.

marriages and other ministrations.

"sive introducendis presbyteris in ecclesiam, sive pro sepulturis et exsequiis mortuorum, et benedictionibus nubentium, seu aliis sacramentis ecclesiasticis, aliquid requiratur, et non possit ista percipere ille qui indiget nisi manum implere curaverit largitoris. Putant autem ex hoc plures sibi licere, quia legem de longa invaluisse consuetudine arbitrantur; non satis, quia cupiditate cæcati sunt, attendentes, quod tanto graviora sunt crimina quanto diutius infelicem animam tenuerint alligatam. Ne ergo hoc de cetero fiat, et vel personis ecclesiasticis deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus instituendis, aut sepeliendis mortuis, seu etiam benedicendis nubentibus, seu aliis sacramentis ecclesiasticis aliquid exigatur,[1] inhibemus. Si quis autem contravenire præsumpserit, portionem cum Giezi se noverit habiturum, cujus factum exactione muneris ultione lepræ vindicatur.

New burdens not to be laid upon churches nor the old augmented.

"Prohibemus insuper ne novi census ab episcopis vel abbatibus aliisve prælatis imponantur ecclesiis, nec veteres augeantur, nec partem reddituum suis usibus appropriare præsumant; sed libertatem, quam majores sibi servari desiderant, minoribus quoque suis bona voluntate conservent. Si quis autem aliter fecerit, irritum quod fecerit habeatur.

Priests forbidden to retain females in their houses immorally.

"Clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui mulierculas in domibus suis sub incontinentiæ nota tenuerint,[2] aut abjiciant eas et continenter vivant, aut a beneficio ecclesiastico fiant alieni.

The punishment of grosser offences.

"Quicunque in[3] incontinentia illa quæ contra naturam est, propter quam venit ira Dei in filios diffidentiæ, et quinque civitates igne consumpsit, deprehensi fuerint laborare; si clerici fuerint ejiciantur a clero, vel ad agendam pœnitentiam in monasterio retrudantur; si laici, excommunicationi subdantur, et a cœtu fidelium fiant penitus alieni.

Clerics not to haunt nunneries.

"Monasteria præterea sanctimonialium si quisquam clericus sine manifesta et necessaria causa freqnentare præsumpserit, per episcopum arceatur; et si non destiterit, a beneficio ecclesiastico reddatur immunis.

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[1] *exigatur*, L.S.; *agatur*, C.
[2] *tenuerint*, L.S.; *tenuerunt*, C.
[3] *in*, C.S.; om. L.

"Quoniam ecclesia Dei, et in iis quæ spectant ad subsidium corporis et in iis quæ ad profectum veniunt animarum, indigentibus, sicut pia mater, providere tenetur; ne pauperibus, qui parentum opibus juvari non possunt, legendi et proficiendi opportunitas subtrahatur, per unamquamque cathedralem ecclesiam magistro, qui clericos ejusdem ecclesiæ et pauperes scholares gratis doceat, competens aliquod beneficium præbeatur, quo docentis necessitas sublevetur, et discentibus via pateat ad doctrinam. In aliis quoque ecclesiis restituatur, si retroactis temporibus aliquid in eis ad hoc fuerit deputatum. Pro licentia docendi nullus omnino pretium exigat, vel sub obtentu alicujus consuetudinis ab iis qui docent aliquid quærat, nec docere quemquam, expetita licentia, qui sit idoneus interdicat. Qui vero contra hoc venire præsumpserit, ab ecclesiastico beneficio fiat alienus. Dignum quidem esse videtur ut in ecclesia Dei pretium laboris sui non habeat qui, cupiditate animi, dum vendit docendi licentiam ecclesiasticum profectum nititur impedire.

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Schoolmasters to be appointed, or restored, in all cathedral establishments for the free tuition of poor scholars.

"Clerici in subdiaconatu et supra, et in minoribus quoque ordinibus constituti, coram seculari judice advocati in negotiis secularibus fieri non præsumant, nisi propriam vel ecclesiæ suæ causam fuerint prosecuti, et nisi forte pro miserabilibus personis quæ causas proprias administrare non possunt. Sed nec procurationes villarum aut jurisdictiones etiam seculares sub aliquibus principibus et secularibus viris, ut justitiarii eorum fiant, clericorum quisquam exercere præsumat. Si quis autem adversus hoc venire tentaverit,[1] quia contra doctrinam Apostoli dicentis, 'Nemo militans Deo implicet[2] se negotiis secularibus,' seculariter agit, ab ecclesiastico ministerio fiat alienus, pro eo quod officio clericali relicto et neglecto, fluctibus seculi, ut potentibus placeat, se immergit. Districtius autem decrevimus puniendum, si religiosorum quisquam aliquid[3] prædictorum ausus fuerit attentare.

Clerks in holy orders forbidden to act as legal advocates or to undertake secular offices.

2 Tim. ii. 4.

"Felicis memoriæ papæ Innocentii et Eugenii prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, detestabiles nundinas quas vulgo torneiamenta[4] vocant, in quibus milites

Tournaments forbidden.

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[1] *temptaverit*, C.S.; *temptaverat*, L.

[2] In the Vulgate *implicat*.

[3] Benedict; but the MSS. have *aliqua*.

[4] *torneiamenta*: this form appears in C.L.S.

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"ex condicto venire solent ad ostentationem virium suarum, "et audacia temeraria congrediuntur, unde mortes hominum "et animarum pericula sæpe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus. "Quod si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei "poscenti pœnitentia non negetur, ecclesiastica tamen "careat sepultura.

The Truce of God to be strictly observed.

"Treugas a quinta feria post occasum solis usque ad se-"cundam feriam post ortum solis, et ab Adventu Domini "usque ad octabas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad "octabas Paschæ, ab[1] omnibus inviolabiliter observari præ-"cipimus. Si quis autem treugam frangere tentaverit, "post tertiam commonitionem si non satisfecerit, episcopus "suus excommunicationis sententiam dictet, et scriptam vi-"cinis episcopis denuntiet. Episcoporum autem nullus ex-"communicatum in communionem[2] suscipiat, immo scripto "susceptam sententiam quisque confirmet. Si quis autem "hoc violare præsumpserit, ordinis sui periculo subjaceat. "Et quoniam 'funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur,' præcipi-"mus ut episcopi ad solum Deum et salutem populi haben-"tes respectum, omni cupiditate seposita, ad pacem firmiter "tenendam mutuum sibi consilium et auxilium præbeant, "neque hoc vel amore vel odio prætermittant. Quod si quis "in hoc opere tepidus inventus fuerit, damnum propriæ "dignitatis incurrat.

Eccles. iv. 12.

Prelates must admonish before excommunicating.

Appeals must not be interposed before the cause has really commenced.

"Reprehensibilis valde consuetudo in quibusdam partibus "inolevit, ut cum fratres et episcopi nostri seu archidia-"coni appellaturos quosdam in causis suis existimant, nulla "penitus admonitione præmissa, suspensionis seu excommuni-"cationis in eos sententiam ferant. Alii autem dum supe-"rioris sententiam et disciplinam reformidant, sine ullo "gravamine ante ingressum causæ appellationem objiciunt; "et ita ad defensionem suæ iniquitatis usurpant quod ad "præsidium innocentium dignoscitur institutum. Quocirca "ne iidem prælati valeant sine causa gravare subjectos, vel "subditi pro sola voluntate sub appellationis obtentu correc-"tionem valeant eludere prælatorum, præsenti decreto statui-"mus, ut nec prælati, nisi canonica summonitione præmissa, "suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferant "in subjectos, nisi talis fuerit culpa quæ ipsis suo genere

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[1] *ab*, L.S.; *in*, C.

[2] Labbe; but the MSS. (C.L.S.) read *communione*; so also Benedict (ii. 226).

" suspensionis vel excommunicationis pœnam inducat; nec " subjecti contra disciplinam ecclesiasticam ante ingressum " causæ in vocem appellationis prorumpant. Si vero quis- " quam pro sua necessitate crediderit appellandum, compe- " tens ei ad prosequendam appellationem terminus præfiga- " tur; infra quem appellationem prosequi si forte neglexerit, " libere tunc episcopus auctoritate sua fruatur. Si autem in " quocunque negotio aliquis appellaverit, et eo qui appellatus " fuerit veniente, qui appellaverit venire neglexerit; si pro- " prium quid habuerit, competentem illi recompensationem " faciat expensarum, ut hoc saltem timore deterritus, in " gravamen alterius facile quis non appellet. Præcipue " tamen in locis religiosis hoc præcipimus observari, ne " monachi sive quicunque religiosi cum pro aliquo excessu " fuerint corrigendi coram regulari prælati[1] et capituli sui[2] " disciplina, appellare præsumant,[3] sed humiliter ac devote " suscipiant quod pro salute sua fuerit eis injunctum.

A.D. 1179.

A limit of time to be assigned for each appeal.

Appellants who do not appear are to be fined.

Monks not to appeal against the authority of their superior and chapter.

"Cum et fovere sacram religionem plantatam,[4] et plantare " fovendam modis omnibus debeamus, nunquam hoc melius " exsequemur,[5] quam si nutrire in ea quæ recta sunt, et cor- " rigere quæ profectum virtutis impediunt, commissa nobis a " Deo auctoritate curemus. Fratrum autem et coepiscopo- " rum nostrorum vehementi conquestione comperimus quod " fratres Templi et Hospitalis et alii quoque religiosæ pro- " fessionis, indulta sibi ab Apostolica sede privilegia exce- " dentes, contra episcopalem auctoritatem multa præsumunt, " quæ et scandalum faciunt in populo Dei, et grave pariunt " periculum animarum. Proposuerunt enim quod ecclesias " de manu laicorum recipiant, excommunicatos et interdictos " ad ecclesiastica sacramenta et sepulturam admittant sine " decreto in ecclesiis suis præter eorum conscientias, et in- " stituant et removeant sacerdotes; et fratribus eorum ad " eleemosynas quærendas euntibus, cum indultum sit eis, ut

Canon directed against the misuse of special privileges by the Templars and Hospitallers.

[1] *regulari prælati*, L.S.; *regularibus prælatis*, C.

[2] *sui*, L.S.; om. C.

[3] *præsumant*, L.S.; *non præsumant*, C. Benedict of Peterborough gives the passage thus: "contra " regularem prælati sui et capituli " disciplinam appellare præsu- " mant," and Labbe's text agrees.

[4] *plantatam*, L.S.; *et plantatam*, C.

[5] *exsequemur* as in Labbe (xxii. 221); but C.L.S. read *exsequimur*.

A.D. 1179. "in eorum adventu semel in anno aperiantur ecclesiæ atque "divina in eis celebrentur officia, plures ex eis de una sive "de diversis domibus ad interdictum locum sæpius acce- "dentes, indulgentia privilegiorum nostrorum[1] in celebran- "dis officiis et sepeliendis mortuis abutantur, et tunc apud "interdictas ecclesias mortuos sepelire præsumant. Occasione "quoque fraternitatis, quam[2] in pluribus locis constituunt, "robur episcopalis auctoritatis enervent, dum contra eorum "sententiam, sub aliquorum privilegiorum obtentu, munire "cunctos intendunt qui ad eorum fraternitatem se voluerint "conferre. In his autem quibus tam de majorum conscientia "vel consilio quam de minorum discretione quorundam exce- "ditur, et removenda ea in quibus excedunt,[3] et quæ dubi- "tationem faciunt decrevimus declaranda. Ecclesias sane et "decimas de manu laicorum, sine consensu episcoporum, tam "illos quam[4] quoscunque religiosos recipere prohibemus, di- "missis etiam illis, quas contra tenorem istum moderno tem- "pore receperunt. Excommunicatos et nominatim interdictos "tam ab illis quam ab omnibus aliis juxta episcoporum sen- "tentiam statuimus evitandos. In ecclesiis suis, quæ ad eos "pleno jure non pertinent, constituendos presbyteros episcopis "repræsentent, ut eis quidem de plebis cura respondeant, "ipsis vero pro rebus temporalibus rationem exhibeant com- "petentem; institutos autem, inconsultis episcopis, non au- "deant removere. Si vero Templarii sive Hospitalarii ad "ecclesiam interdictam veniant, non nisi semel in anno ad "ecclesiasticum servitium admittantur, nec ulla ibi corpora "sepeliant mortuorum. De fraternitatibus autem hoc con- "stituimus, ut si non se prædictis fratribus omnino reddi- "derint, sed in proprietatibus suis duxerint remanendum, "propter hoc ab episcoporum sententia nullatenus eximan- "tur, sed potestatem suam in eos sicut in suos parochianos "exerceant, cum pro suis excessibus fuerint corrigendi. "Quod autem de prædictis fratribus dictum est, ab aliis "quoque religiosis qui præsumptione sua episcoporum jura "præripiunt, et contra canonicas eorum sententias et teno- "rem privilegiorum nostrorum venire præsumunt, præcipi-

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[1] *nostrorum*, L.S.; *suorum*, C.

[2] *quam*, C.; *quas*, S., and, by alteration from *quam*, L.

[3] *et removenda . . . . excedunt:* this passage is mutilated in C.

[4] *quam*, C.S.; om. L.

"mus observari. Si autem contra instituta hæc venerint, "ecclesiæ in quibus ista præsumpserint subjaceant interdicto, "et quod egerint irritum et vacuum habeatur." A.D. 1179.

Cap. IV.

De morte regis Francorum, et de iis quæ[1] *apud Constantinopolim provenerunt.*

A.D. 1180. Death of Louis VII. of France (Sept. 18). His character.

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°LXXX°, qui fuit Henrici regis Anglorum vicesimus septimus,[2] et Lodovici[3] regis Francorum quadragesimus quartus, idem rex Francorum hominem exuit. Homo[4] intepidæ devotionis in Deum, et eximiæ lenitatis in subditos, sacrorum quoque ordinum præcipuus venerator; paulo autem simplicior quam deceret principem. Illius verbi
1 Cor. xv. 23. Apostolici, "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala," perspicuam in quibusdam actibus suis veritatem expressit. Quorundam quippe[5] procerum[6] de honesto vel æquo minus curantium plus justo se credens consiliis, non levi plerumque macula mores egregios denigravit: veluti quando causam nequam filii contra pium patrem suscepit, et totis regni opibus hostem naturæ adjuvit. Successit ei filius Philippus natus ei ex filia illustrissimi comitis Theobaldi,[7] quæ illi jam trigamo nupserat. Quippe post Alianorem, quæ, ut plenius suo loco dictum est,[8] relictis[9] illi duabus ex se filiabus, et[10] celebrato inter eos divortio, ad regis Anglorum transierat nuptias, regii seminis ex Hispania

Succeeded by his son Philip Augustus.

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[1] *quæ*, C.L.S.; *qui*, B.

[2] See p. 117, note 3, as to the author's mode of reckoning.

[3] *Lodovici*, B.S.; *Lodowici*, C.L.

[4] *homo*, B.L.R.S.; *ut homo*, C.

[5] *quippe*, B.L.R.S.; *quoque*, C.

[6] *procerum*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[7] *Theobaldi*, B.L.S.; *Theodbaldi*, C.

[8] Lib. I. cap. 31.

[9] *relictis*, B.L.S.; *et relictis*, C.

[10] *trigamo . . . . filiabus, et*: this passage, except the words *trigamo nupserat*, omitted altogether, is in B. placed after the words *ex Hispania* below.

A.D. 1180. comparem duxerat; quæ, itidem relictis illi duabus ex se filiabus, quarum major in conjugio regis Anglorum Henrici junioris sine fructu sobolis fuisse dignoscitur, generali sorti subjacuit. Filiam quoque elegantis formæ tertia illi regina ediderat; cui nimirum qualia provenerint libet paucis exponere.

Death of Manuel Comnenus (Sept. 24, 1180) and accession of Alexius II. a minor.

Imperator Constantinopolitanus in fata concedens, filium impuberem sub tutela patrui successorem reliquit imperii, et ille quidem[1] purpuratus, pro ætate nutriebatur in deliciis. Porro tutor ejus, Andronicus nomine, interim administrabat imperium. Visum est Græcorum optimatibus ut filia[2] regis Francorum ad insignis pueri conjugium peteretur, quod et[3] factum est. Missi ergo in Franciam non ignobiles nuntii, susceptam, tradente patre, virginem nondum plene nubilem cum multo fastu Constantinopolim traduxerunt. Ubi vero, et illo jam pubere et illa nubili, imperatoriæ cœperunt nuptiæ præparari, Andronicus homo nequissimus et multæ potentiæ, utpote procurator imperii, sollicitatis et corruptis ministris palatii, imperatorem juvenculum, nepotem scilicet proprium, furatus de palatio in insulam quandam, ut dicitur, civitate inscia, per quosdam complices suos occulte necandum direxit. Mox sumpta purpura imperium occupavit; et ne quid ausis[4] sceleratissimis deesset, destinatum nepoti conjugium ad se, formæ captus illecebra, transtulit.[5] Cumque arrepto insolentissime abuteretur imperio, ab iis qui ejus vel execrabantur nequitiam vel aspernabantur potentiam contra se conjurari coegit. Quæ nimirum conjuratio adeo tandem invaluit, ut conjuratorum ingens jam numerus in spiritu fortitudinis palatium repente[6] irrumperet, et tyrannum ferocissimum solio deturbatum, justissimis

A marriage is arranged for the young emperor with Agnes daughter of Louis VII.

Alexius is murdered by order of Andronicus (about Oct. 1183).

Andronicus is murdered. (Sept. 12, 1185).

[1] *quidem*, B.L.R.S.; om. C.
[2] C. and S. have *filiam.*
[3] *et*, B.L.S.; *etiam*, C.
[4] C. has *ausibus.*
[5] Wrong: Andronicus, *cousin* of Manuel, was not regent at first. Later he was joined in the empire with Alexius II.; murdered him, and married his *widow.*
[6] *repente*, C.L.S.; om. B.

vinculis innodaret; et, ne vacaret imperium, novum illico principem creaverunt, ad cujus arbitrium sceleratus ille suppliciis excruciatus interiit. Hoc modo filia regis Francorum in regno Græcorum optatis speratisque fraudata nuptiis, et scelestissimi hominis contubernio maculata, honore etiam caruit. A.D. 1185.

Cap. V.

De mutatione monetæ publicæ, et decessu Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

A.D. 1180. New coinage in England (Nov. 11).

Anno regis Henrici secundi vicesimo septimo,[1] forma monetæ publicæ, a falsariis corruptæ, mutata est in Anglia; quod quidem ratione utilitatis publicæ pro tempore erat necessarium, sed regni pauperibus et colonis nimis onerosum.[2]

A.D. 1181. Death of pope Alexander III. (Aug. 30).

Sequenti autem anno, qui fuit a partu Virginis MUSCUS octogesimus primus et pontificatus Alexandri papæ vicesimus tertius, generale debitum solvit idem venerabilis pontifex; cui successit Lucius.

Death of Roger archbishop of York (Nov. 26). His character.

Eodem quoque anno decessit Rogerius Eboracensis archiepiscopus, homo literatus et eloquens, atque in commodis temporalibus prudentiæ pæne singularis. In officio quidem episcopali, hoc est, in cura animarum, minus sollicitus; in iis autem, quæ officio non Deus sed propter Deum mundus annexuit, conservandis et promovendis efficaciter studiosus. In bonis quippe temporalibus archiepiscopatum Eboracensem ita provexit, ut de augmentis reddituum vel amplitudine ædificiorum fere nullam successoribus suis curam reliquerit. Occasiones quoque avaritiæ ita exercuit,[3] atque in his exercendis ita excelluit, ut raro aliquam prætermittere vel remissius agere videretur. Pro per-

[1] See note 3 on p. 117.

[2] Philip Aymari of Tours was the new moneyer. He was recalled the same year. R. de Diceto (ii. p. 7).

[3] B., by alteration, has *exercevit*.

A.D. 1181. sonis spectabilibus, quibus tanquam quibusdam monilibus Eboracensis olim refulsit ecclesia, titulavit imberbes, et quosdam etiam agentes sub ferula, aptos magis pro ætate

"Ædificare casas, plostello[1] adjungere mures, Hor. Sat. lib. ii. 3, 247.
"Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,"

quam personas in ecclesia gerere magnatorum;[2] ut scilicet usque ad annos viriles curam agens titulatorum, universa perciperet[3] commoda titulorum. Christianos philosophantes, id est, viros religiosos in tantum exhorruit, ut dixisse feratur, felicis memoriæ Turstinum[4] olim Eboracensem archiepiscopum nunquam gravius deliquisse, quam ædificando insigne illud Christianæ philosophiæ speculum, monasterium scilicet de Fontibus. Cumque hoc verbo quosdam qui aderant scandalizari conspiceret,[5] "Laici," inquit, "estis, nec percipere po-"testis vim verbi." Dicebat etiam[6] ecclesiasticum beneficium luxuriosis potius quam religiosis conferendum; quam plane regulam omni tempore suo sollicite tenuit, et deteriorem fere in omnibus conditionem fecit religiosorum quam secularium clericorum. Porro in hac mira cæcitate, cum alias esset vir acutissimus, arbitrabatur obsequium[7] se præstare Deo; quod sic probatur:—Accessit ad eum extrema jam ægritudine decumbentem, et mature finiendum, quidam, mihi notissimus,[8] cujusdam loci religiosi præpositus, vir bonus et

His hatred of monks, and

his preference for the secular clergy.

Anecdote as to his treatment of a certain prior.

[1] C. has the mistake *planstello*.

[2] All the MSS. collated at this point (B C.L.S.) have the form *magnati* in place of *magnates*. See Ducange's Glossary.

[3] *perciperet*, B.L.S.; *reciperet*, C.

[4] *Turstinum*, C.L.S.; *Thurstimum* (sic), B.

[5] *quosdam . . . . . conspiceret*, B.C.L.S.; *scandalizarentur circumstantes*, R.

[6] *etiam*, B.L.R.S.; *autem*, C.

[7] *obsequium*, C.L.S.; *officium*, B.

[8] See "Materials for the history "of Thomas Becket," vol. v. pp. 298–300, for a letter from Becket to pope Alexander, "for the monks of "Newburgh against the archbishop "of York." Possibly the prior referred to in the text was Bernard, prior of Newburgh. See Benedict, i. 352.

simplex, humiliter postulans ut pias bonorum virorum collationes, quas sancti ejus prædecessores eidem loco divini amoris intuitu autentico scripto confirmaverant, ipse quoque sigilli proprii attestatione confirmare dignaretur. Ad quod ille; "En," ait, "morior, et quia "Deum timeo, quod postulas, facere non præsumo." Tam solide apud se tenebat, nullis minus quam hujusmodi philosophantibus esse præstandum. Quod autem in vita sua tondendis magis quam pascendis ovibus[1] Dominicis intenderit, in[2] fine claruit. Quippe moriturus decumbens, non pauca millia marcarum argenti pontifex, ævo gravis, in thesauris habebat, cum tot pauperes Christi inedia laborarent. Quibus cum jam ulterius incubare[3] non posset, partem aliquam dispersit in pauperes, partem ecclesiis; partem etiam familiaribus et propinquis, serus distributor legato dimisit. Verum cum jam obiisset, rex per officiales suos et inventa diripuit, et non inventa ab iis quibus jam data erant, extorsit; dicens, thesauros a quocunque usque ad mortem repositos solius principis in bonis esse. Quod utique judicio Dei actum est, ut ceteri terreantur exemplo, discantque thesaurizare sibi thesauros in cœlo, quo scilicet fur non irrepit, nec prædo irrumpit.[4]

A.D. 1181

Leaves behind him great wealth, which the king seizes.

Matt. vi. 9. Luc. xii. 38.

Circa Johannem quoque archidiaconum,[5] hominem callidum et pecuniosum, qui ejusdem archiepiscopi in omnibus consiliarius et cooperator exstiterat, judicium Dei e vestigio claruit; qui nimirum die altero magistrum secutus, pecunias suas regi dimisit. Sic igitur illi duo in vita individui, in morte quoque brevissimo sunt intervallo divisi.

John the archdeacon dying about the same time leaves his money to the king.

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[1] *ovibus*, C.L.S.; *omnibus*, B.

[2] A complete quire is wanting here in S. The text breaks off after *intenderit in*, and resumes with *postmodum eo quod*, p. 253.

[3] *incubare*, B.L.S.; *cubare*, C.

[4] *irrumpit*, B.L.R.; *dirumpit*, C.

[5] Of Nottingham?, Le Neve, iii 150.

A.D. 1181. Decessit autem idem archiepiscopus, anno pontificatus sui xx°viii°; moxque archiepiscopatu in fiscum redacto, vacavit Eboracensis ecclesia annis decem.

Cap. VI.

De Suero Norwegiæ tyranno.

A.D. 1177–1194. The career of Sverrir, and his establishment on the throne of Norway. The course of succession had been that of the slayer to the slain. Attempt to break the custom by ecclesiasti-

Eisdem temporibus famosissimus ille presbyter Swerus [1] qui cognominatur [2] Birkebain,[3] in ea parte Germaniæ quæ Norwegia dicitur tyrannidem arripuit; et tempore non modico sub tyranni nomine debacchatus, tandem rege terræ illius exstincto, tanquam legitime regnum obtinuit: aliis forte ejusdem terræ regibus non dissimilem exitum judicio Dei habiturus. Quippe, ut dicitur, a centum retro annis, et eo amplius, cum regum ibidem numerosa successio fuerit, nullus eorum senio aut morbo vitam finivit, sed omnes ferro [4] interiere; suis interfectoribus tanquam legitimis successoribus, regni fastigium relinquentes: ut scilicet omnes, qui tanto tempore ibidem imperasse noscuntur, illud quod scriptum est respicere videatur,[5] "Occidisti, "insuper, et possedisti." (1 Reg. xxi. 19.) Huic infami malo, per longam consuetudinem tanquam legis jam obtinenti vigorem, optimates terræ illius, paulo ante tyrannidem

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[1] *Swerus*, L.; *Suerus*, B.C. His mother, Gunnhilda, asserted that she had been the concubine of Sigurd II., and that Sverrir was her son by him. After Sigurd's death she married a smith. Sverrir was brought up to the church, though it is doubtful whether he ever became a deacon, and it is certain that he never attained to priests orders.

[2] B. now reads *agnominatur*.

[3] *Birkebain*, C.L.; *Birckebain*, B. Properly *Birkebein:* Sverrir was so called because in his struggle for the crown he led a band of outlaws, whose shoes and clothing were so worn that they eked them out with birch bark bound round their feet and legs with birch twigs.

[4] *ferro*, C.L.; *fere*, B.

[5] *videatur*, B.L.; *videantur*, C.

prænominati presbyteri, pio studio mederi volentes, regem novitium sollemniter unctione mystica consecrari et coronari decreverunt, scilicet, ut nemo de cetero auderet manum mittere in christum Domini. Quippe eatenus nullus unquam in gente illa ritu fuerat ecclesiastico consecratus in principem, sed quicunque tyrannice regem occiderat, eo ipso personam et potestatem regiam[1] induebat; suo quoque occisori eandem, post modicum, fortunam, inveteratæ consuetudinis lege,[2] relicturus. Quod nimirum, Christiana quadam simplicitate, a multis putatum est ideo factitari, quia nullus regum priorum regiæ meruerat unctionis sollemnibus initiari. Itaque interfecto Hacone, qui rege Inge[3] a se perempto successerat, cum cuidam puero nomine Magno, ejusdem Inge nepoti, regni successio competere videretur, prudentes et nobiles regni decrĕto communi eumdem puerum sollemniter in christum Domini consecrari, et diademate insigniri fecerunt. Quo facto sancitum sibi principem, et priscæ consuetudinis dedecus abolitum, crediderunt. Verum cum idem Magnus, jam pubes factus, in multa strenuitate simul et felicitate per aliquot annos regnasset, cunctis jam æstimantibus contra tyrannicos turbines satis consultum, invidia diaboli, ad perturbandam Christianæ plebis quietem, memoratum presbyterum, tanquam vas proprium, incitavit. Qui cum in sacro ordine, quem in ecclesia acceperat, diuscule ministrasset, propensiore sui fiducia homo audacissimus atque acutissimus regnum cœpit ambire. Mox lustrata omni regione, conceptæ molitionis negotium non segniter exsequens, spe[4] prædarum sollicitatam audacium atque improborum manum sibi validam artificiosissime aggregavit, atque inviis solitudinibus

A.D. 1177–94.

cal consecration of new kings.

Magnus Erlingsson is consecrated (A.D. 1164).

Rebellion of Sverrir.

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[1] *eo . . regiam*, B.L.; *eo ipso ipse potestatem regiam et personam*, C.
[2] *lege*, B.L.; *lege quadam*, C
[3] *Inge*, B.L.; *Insc*, C.
[4] *spem*, in C.

A.D. 1177–94.

Sverrir defeats Magnus for the first time.

pro munitionibus utens, crebris irruptionibus regem irritavit. Cumque rex eum cum instructo persequeretur exercitu, ille arte fugam simulans, in quibusdam notis locorum angustiis substitit; ibique regias copias misere circumventas, atque eisdem angustiis impeditas, ita attrivit, ut rex ipse inter mortuorum strages delitescens, abeuntibus hostibus, ægre evaserit. Quo successu elatus, atque indies viribus auctior, classem quoque nactus est, cujus opportunitate in pluribus ejusdem regni debacchabatur[1] provinciis. Rex vero, reparatis viribus et classe instructa, adversus hostem perrexit. Quo ille cognito, fugam quoque tunc callide simulans, in infinitum refugit oceanum. Quod cum regi innotuisset, veram esse prædonis fugam credidit, seque cum classe in portum quendam recepit. Ubi cum exercitus, pro lætitia hostis expulsi, epulis exitiali securitate vacaret, sequenti nocte execrandus presbyter cum suis portum ingressus, ebriosque et somnolentos aggressus, minimo negotio, cum patre regis aliisque optimatibus fere universum delevit exercitum. Rex autem, aliis morientibus, elapsus, in quodam, ut dicitur, proximo virginum monasterio per dies aliquot latuit, frustraque quæsitus ab hostibus, Deo volente, evasit. Hac hostium infelicitate et clade tyrannus elatus, quanto cruentior tanto insolentior circumquaque tanquam triumphans ferebatur, immitem se dominum pressis misere provincialibus exhibens. Rex autem post latebram, luci et amicis redditus, cœpit paulatim vires reficere, auxilia undecunque contrahere, adversus hostiles se dolos cautius præparare, et tandem cum apparatu maximo perrexit in hostem. Quo mox ille[2] cognito, cum videret juvenem propter priores clades prudentius atque instructius agere, numero quoque navium et pondere virium præstare, ad maleficia se

Surprise and massacre of the king's army.

[1] *debacchatur* in B. | [2] *illo* in B.C.R.L.

A.D. 1177–94.

convertit. Habebat enim secum quandam filiam diaboli, potentem in maleficiis, atque illi antiquæ merito comparandam, de qua nobilis ait poeta:

Sverrir is met at sea by the fleet of Magnus, and fearing the result of a combat, betakes himself to witchcraft.

Verg. Æn. iv. 487–491.

Hæc se carminibus promittit solvere mentes,
Quas velit; atque aliis diras immittere curas;
Sistere aquam fluviis,[1] et sidera vertere retro;
Nocturnosque[2] ciet[3] manes; mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram, et descendere montibus ornos.

Denique hæc, ut dicitur, mira pestilentissimæ artis confidentia, ab amico quæsivit tyranno quomodo suos, qui jam præ oculis erant, hostes cuperet[4] interire. Illo submersionem illorum eligente, repente, operatione diaboli, qui nimirum per angelicæ naturæ potentiam in elementis mundanis plurimum potest, cum a superiori sinitur potestate, tranquillum mare os suum aperiens, in conspectu hostium, majorem regiæ classis partem absorbuit. Quo viso, nefandus presbyter, "Ecce," ait, "socii, quam efficaciter elementa pugnant pro nobis; cavete ne forte evadant, quorum certum exitium pelagus vestræ virtuti reliquit, ne totum[5] fecisse videatur." Itaque regii exercitus pars reliqua, subito interitu sociorum attonita, facile est oppressa, et rex ipse interiit.[6] Quo sublato, in ditionem tyrannicam regnum tremefactum concessit. Qui, sacro ordine abjurato, et accepta in conjugem filia regis Gotorum,[7] ab archiepiscopo terræ illius sollemniter coronari voluit.[8] Verum ille[9] cum esset vir

The greater part of the king's fleet is sunk by magical arts.

The remainder is overwhelmed and king Magnus perishes. (A.D. 1184).

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[1] *fluviis*, C.L.; om. B.

[2] C.L. and R. have *nocturnasque*

[3] *ciet*, B.L.; *sciet*, C.

[4] C. has *cuperat*.

[5] *totum*, C.L; *tutum*, B.

[6] This account is a fiction. In June 1184 Magnus attacked Sverrir with a far stronger fleet in the Sognefjord, but the strategy of Sverrir defeated his rival with great slaughter. King Magnus leapt overboard and was drowned, and Sverrir became sole king of Norway. He died in his bed March 9, 1202.

[7] *Gotorum*, B.L.; *Gottorum*, C.

[8] See Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 12. This was in 1180, *before* the death of Magnus, not after as would appear from the text.

[9] *ille*, B.L.; *ipse*, C.

A.D. 1177–94.

The archbishop (of Trondjem) refuses to crown Sverrir and is banished (A.D. 1180).

Two descendants of the former kings are defeated and slain.

Sverrir obtains consecration at the hands of a bishop (A.D. 1194).

magnus, et neque precibus neque minarum terroribus flecteretur ut caput execrabile sacra unctione perfunderet,[1] ab eodem patria pulsus est.

Post annos aliquot surrexit de stirpe regum priorum acerrimus juvenis, nomine Johannes, confluentibus ad eum et roborantibus eum plurimis. Qui cum læta habuisset initia, ut jam ipsi esset tyranno terribilis, juvenili tandem calore inconsultius ad bellum prosiliens, infeliciter et prœmature occubuit. Post hunc emersit alius de semine regio bonæ spei puer, copiosis adjutus[2] suffragiis. Verum et hic, in ipsa sacra dominica Palmarum, ante annos aliquot gravi prœlio a tyranno oppressus, et cum suis adjutoribus funditus abrasus est. Sic virga illa furoris Domini, profligato vel eliminato fere[3] omni semine regio atque omni hoste indigena, magnus et tremendus, tandem per manum cujusdam episcopi, ad hoc intentata morte coacti, regium[4] cum mystica unctione diadema sortitus est, sub incerto diu prosperatæ[5] tyrannidis exitu ex[6] crebris successibus quasi securus. Titulus autem sigilli ejus talis fuisse dicitur: "*Suerus Rex magnus, ferus* "*ut leo, mitis ut agnus.*" Clementiam quippe in subditos ostentabat, et ecclesiis sive monasteriis reverentiam exhibebat.[7]

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[1] *perfunderet*, B.L.; *perfunderetur*, C. Eystein, archbishop of Trondjem. He stayed at the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds for a considerable time. See Pipe Rolls for 27 and 28 Hen. II. (Norf. and Suff.).

[2] *adjutus*, C.L.; *adjutis*, B.

[3] *fere*, C.L.; om. B.

[4] *regium*, B.C.R.; *regni* (?), the word being imperfectly altered from *regium*, L.

[5] *prosperatæ*, B.L.; *prosperitate*, C.

[6] *ex*, C.L.; *et*, B.

[7] Sverrir's Saga has been translated into Latin by S. Egilsson.

Cap. VII.

De morte regis Henrici tertii, et Gaufridi fratris ejus.[1]

Anno a partu Virginis M°C°LXXX°III°, qui fuit tricesimus regis Anglorum[2] Henrici secundi, Henricus tertius, Anglorum rex junior, immatura morte decessit. Plane immatura si ætatem respicias, sed multum sera si actus attendas. Fœdaverat enim adolescentiam suam nævo inexpiabili, id est,[3] similitudine scelestissimi Absalonis, ut superius expositum est. Juventutem quoque ingressus, eandem adolescentiæ suæ noluit esse dissimilem; et prævaricator, non tantum naturæ, ut prius, verum etiam sollemnium pactorum, rebellavit iterum contra patrem. Cujus rebellionis causa hæc fuit. Idem pater Ricardo filio in administrando ducatu Aquitannico suas vices commiserat; filio quoque Gaufrido, jam puberi, plenitudinem juris uxorii, id est, Britanniam transmarinam, tradiderat; Henrico primogenito, sub exspectatione successionis legitimæ, ad patris vel excubante vel pergente imperium. Verum occasione cujusdam simultatis inter fratres exortæ, idem Henricus indignatus quod fratrem Ricardum pater Aquitaniæ præfecisset, juncto sibi fratre Gaufrido comite Britannico et quibusdam proceribus Aquitanicis, patrem motibus bellicis lacessivit. Pater vero, cum rebelles filios blandis delinire mandatis frustra tentasset, improbis eorum ausibus obviaturus, fines Aquitanicos cum exercitu ingressus est.[4] Mox, Dei judicio, Henricus junior febre, utriusque prævaricationis ultrice, corripitur, omniumque animi, qui cum

A.D. 1183.

Death of the young king (June 11).

His character and conduct towards his father.

The young king and Geoffrey attack Richard (January).

The young king on his deathbed desires to

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[1] *fratris ejus*, C.L.; om. B.
[2] *Anglorum*, B.L.; om. C.
[3] *id est*, B.L.; om. C.
[4] This is an inadequate summary of the quarrel which began by Richard's refusal of homage to his brother. See Benedict i. 291–301.

A.D. 1183.

see his father.

eo conspiraverant pariter elanguere. Cumque, ingravescente incommodo, desperaretur a medicis, tandem compunctus misit ad patrem, excessum humiliter confitens, et extremam gratiam a paterna pietate deposcens, ut morientem invisere dignaretur. Quibus auditis, paterna quidem concussa sunt viscera, sed amicis allegantibus non esse sibi tutum nequissimis conspiratoribus, qui circa filium erant, se credere, quamvis pium esset ægrotantem filium visitare, prævalente formidine ad filium non perrexit; sed pro signo clementiæ et indultæ veniæ notum illi annulum, arram paternæ dilectionis, direxit. Quem ille susceptum deosculatus, assistente archiepiscopo Burdegalensi, vitam finivit. Funus ad patrem longo agmine deducebatur; cui mox pater pie occurrit, et Rothomagi sepeliendum Normanniam deferri præcepit.[1] Hunc finem habuit inquietus ille puer, ad[2] multorum quidem natus exitium; sed tamen hominibus adeo favorabilis et gratiosus, quia ut scriptum est, "Stultorum infinitus Eccles. i.
"est numerus," ut etiam de mortuo præclara dicerentur. 15.
Denique post mortem ejus, quidam mentiendi libidine atque impudentissima vanitate, famam late sparserunt, quod ad sepulchrum ejus curationes fierent infirmorum,[3] scilicet ut vel causam contra patrem justam habuisse, vel finali pœnitentia Deo egregie placuisse, crederetur. Idem vero pater dolorem exstincti filii ex hostis interitu temperans, fortiterque insistens conspiratoribus casu ducis attonitis, in brevi universos perdomuit, et Gaufridum filium in gratiam recepit. Qui tamen ingratus ad omne experimentum paterni affectus, hostilem, ut postea claruit, non exuit animum. Nam tempore modico[4] circa patrem pendulus

King Henry is dissuaded from going to see his son for fear of his treacherous adherents.

Bertrand of Agen?

False reports of miraculous cures at the young king's tomb are circulated.

Geoffrey is reconciled to his father,

[1] The first burial was at Le Mans, the second on 22 July at Rouen.

[2] *ad*, C.L.; *et ad*, B.

[3] The story of the pretended miracles is given by Thomas Agnellus, whose account of them is printed with Rad. de Coggeshale (Roll's edit. p. 267).

[4] The following events really belong to cap. 13. For details see Benedict, i. 307–50.

et fluitans, Francorum autem, quos paternæ gloriæ æmulos noverat, modis omnibus amicitiam captans, cum a patre Andegavensem comitatum obtinere non posset, super hoc rege Francorum inaniter satagente, eo quod Ricardus natu major id nulla ratione concederet, ad Francos se contulit, tanquam per illorum potentiam patri et fratri extorturus precum blanditiis non obtentum. Cumque, ad irritandum patrem, regi Francorum sedulo militans grandia moliretur, divini judicii pondere obrutus, molitiones suas Parisius cum vita finivit, ibique sepultus, patri quidem, cui minus officiosus exstiterat, modicum, Francis vero, quibus multum placuerat, ingentem luctum reliquit. Natus est ei, ex Britannici comitis filia unica, filius posthumus; cui cum rex avus nomen suum imponi jussisset, contradictum est a Britonibus, et sollemni acclamatione in sacro baptismate Arturus est dictus. Sicque Britones, qui diu fabulosum dicuntur exspectasse Arturum, nunc sibi cum multa spe nutriunt verum, juxta opinionem quorundam, grandibus illis et famosis de Arturo fabulis prophetatum.

A.D. 1186. — but rebels again.

He dies at Paris (Aug. 19, 1186). Birth of his posthumous son prince Arthur (Mar. 29, 1187). The Bretons looking for the return of king Arthur see in Geoffrey's son the fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy.

Cap. VIII.

De morte Cantuariensis[1] archiepiscopi, et institutione Lincolniensis episcopi.

Eodem sane anno quo Henricus tertius in fata concessit,[2] Ricardus quoque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, venerabilis Thomæ successor, decessit. Homo quidem mediocriter literatus sed laudabiliter innoxius, et, ne

A.D. 1183-5. — Death of Richard archbishop of Canterbury.

[1] B. has *Cantuariensi.*

[2] Henry died June 11, 1183, and archbishop Richard on Feb. 17, 1184. Perhaps Newburgh means within the space of one year.

A.D. 1183-5.

He is succeeded by Baldwin, bishop of Worcester.

Walter of Coutances is made bishop of Lincoln, 1183 (consecrated July 3),

but is shortly after translated to Rouen (Feb. 24, 1185).

ambularet in magnis, modulo suo prudenter contentus. Successit[1] ei Baldwinus,[2] ex abbate Fordensi Wigorniensis[3] episcopus, vir religiosus et literatus. Sed et Galterius[4] Constantiensis ipso anno[5] factus est ecclesiæ Lincolniensis antistes, cum vacasset eadem ecclesia annis fere decem et septem; sicque evacuata est[6] prophetia vel potius divinatio conversi Thamensis[7] de suo, non de Dei spiritu, prophetantis, quod Lincolniensis ecclesia pontificem ulterius non esset habitura. Quæ divinatio, propter longam ejusdem ecclesiæ vacationem, plurimos adeo moverat, ut memoratus Galterius, accepto consecrationis munere, non sine grandi metu ad propriam sedem accederet. At non diu sedit[8] ibidem. Nempe post modicum electus ad archiepiscopatum Rothomagensem, formæ venustioris blandiente illecebra, novæ nuptæ valedixit. In qua re pensandum est quanti sit momenti ambitus excellentiæ, quantumque in homine etiam[9] pecuniæ cupidissimo superet amorem pecuniæ. Satis[10] quippe notum est quod quantum Rothomagensis ecclesia Lincolniensi præeminet majoritate dignitatis, tantum etiam cedit illi in temporalibus commodis. Homo tamen, qui episcopatum Lincolniensem propter amplissima commoda multum ambierat, maluit, eo relicto, ad minores divitias ascendere superius, quam, eo retento, cum majoribus divitiis sedere inferius. Et diu quidem hæsitasse dicitur utrum eminentior an ditior esse eligeret, scrupulose secum deliberans; sed tandem

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[1] The formal election by the monks of Canterbury took place on Dec. 16, 1184 (Bened. Petr.).

[2] *Baldwinus*, L.; *Baldewinus*, B.; *Baldiwinus*, C.

[3] *Wigorniensis*, C.L.; *Wigornensis*, B.

[4] *Galterius*, B.L.; *Gauterius*, C. and below.

[5] Rightly placed under the year in which the young king died. Bishop Walter was consecrated by archbishop Richard.

[6] *est*, C.L.; om. B.

[7] *Thamensis*, L.; *Tamensis*, B.C.

[8] *sedit*, C.L.; *sedet*, B.

[9] *etiam*, B.L.; om. C.

[10] *satis*, B.C.; *satisque*, L.

ambitus loci celsioris de amore commodi largioris triumphavit. Illo autem translato, vacavit iterum ecclesia Lincolniensis annis aliquot. A.D. 1185.

Cap. IX.

De expeditione contra Rollandum,[1] *et quibusdam eventibus Hiberniæ.*[2]

A.D. 1186.

Ronald of Galloway refusing to divide his province, Henry marches against him, but pleased at hearing good news from Ireland grants him easy terms.

Illustris rex Anglorum Henricus secundus, post mortem Henrici tertii, transvectus in Angliam,[3] in extremos regni fines adversus Rollandum[1] Galwadiæ principem duxit exercitum. Quippe idem Rollandus, mortuo patruo Gilberto, qui, ut superius dictum est, capto a nostris rege Scottorum, fratrem Uctredum[4] nefarie peremerat, in filios ejus sorte bellica prævalens, totam illam sibi provinciam vendicarat. Interpellatus ab eis rex Anglorum, Rollando mandavit ut hereditatem paternam propriis redderet consobrinis; qui cum sprevisset mandatum, iratus rex, cum ingentibus equitum et peditum copiis, partes illas adiit.[5] Ubi cum ex Hibernia rumores gratissimos accepisset, exhilaratus nuntio, placabilior fuit. Itaque,[6] accepta satisfactione a Rollando, exercitum mature reduxit. Ut autem illius nuntii qualitas melius intimetur, pauca de statu Hiberniæ, quoniam se præbet occasio, prælibanda sunt.

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[1] *Rollandum,* L.; *Rolandum,* B.C. Similar variations below.

[2] *Hiberniæ,* C.L.; *Hiberniis,* B.

[3] This gives an erroneous idea. He stayed in England from 10 June 1184 to 16 April 1185, and came again on 27 April 1186.

[4] *Uctredum,* B.L.; *Huttredum,* C. See p. 186, as to this event.

[5] About August, for he learned de Lacy's death (killed in Ireland on 25 July) in the north, and was at Woodstock on 5 Sept.

[6] *itaque* B.L.; *ita,* C.

A.D. 1172–86.

Irish affairs after Henry's return to England (in April, 1172).

Relatum est superius[1] quomodo comes Ricardus acquisitionem Hibernicam eidem regi coactus dimiserit; quam profecto rex, opportune transvectus in Hiberniam prout voluit ordinavit. Eo autem in Angliam reverso, præfecti militum ad subactæ provinciæ regimen ibidem ab eo relicti, vel prædæ vel gloriæ avidi, commissos sibi fines paulatim dilatabant.

John de Courci invades Ulster.

E quibus unus, scilicet Johannes de Curci, juncta sibi peditum equitumque manu valida, illam Hiberniæ provinciam quæ a regno Scotiæ angusto freto sejungitur, et[2] Uluestiria nuncupatur, hostiliter invadendam putavit.

Cardinal Vivian the papal legate had crossed from Scotland.

Forte illuc venerat a Scotia Vivianus, vir eloquentissimus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus; susceptusque honorifice a rege et episcopis ejusdem provinciæ, in civitate maritima quæ Dunum vocatur pro tempore morabatur.

He advises the Irish to resist, but they are defeated.

Hostium autem adventu præcognito, Hibernienses consuluere legatum quidnam[3] in tali articulo esset agendum. Qui pugnandum esse pro patria dixit, et pugnaturis[4] cum obsecrationibus benedixit. Hoc modo animati, audacter in prœlium ruerunt; sed, a loricatis et sagittariis facile oppressi, terga verterunt.

Capture of Down (about Jan. 1177).

Capta est igitur urbs[5] Dunensis. Porro legatus Romanus cum suis refugit in ecclesiam sanctorum reliquiis inclitam. Providerat enim[6] sibi homo prudens, et præ manibus habebat, regis Anglorum literas ad præfectos ejus Hibernicos; ut eorum tutus[7] suffragiis, legationis suæ inter barbaros munus impleret.

Cardinal Vivian holds a council at Dublin (Mar. 13, 1177).

Hac auctoritate pacem et securitatem accipiens, Divilinum[8] migravit, et sub nomine vel domini papæ vel regis Anglorum fiducialiter agens, convocatis Hiberniæ præsulibus atque abbatibus, generale concilium celebravit. Verum cum

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[1] Lib. II. cap. 27.

[2] C. omits *et*.

[3] B. has *quodnam*.

[4] *pugnaturis*, B.C.; *pugnaturus*, L.

[5] *urbs*, B.C.L.; *civitas*, R.

[6] *enim*, C.L.; *autem*, B.

[7] B. has *tutis*.

[8] *Divilinum*, B.L.; *Divelinum*, C.

in ecclesiis simplicitatis barbaræ liberius agere morem vellet Romanum, denuntiantibus præfectis regiis ut vel abscederet vel secum militaret, auro Hibernico, quod multum sitierat, minus onustus, in Scotiam remeavit. Porro Johannes de Curci cum suis, qui Dunum et fines ejus ceperat, a regibus Hiberniæ postmodum frustra impugnatus, expugnata Ardemachia,[1] ubi esse dicitur prima sedes Hiberniæ propter honorem beati Patricii atque aliorum indigenarum sanctorum quorum ibidem sacræ reliquiæ requiescunt, totam provinciam illam subegit. Hujus autem provinciæ homines præ cunctis Hiberniæ populis in celebratione Paschali eatenus superstitiosi[2] fuisse traduntur. Nam, sicut, quodam venerabili episcopo gentis illius referente, cognovi, arbitrabantur obsequium se præstare Deo dum per anni circulum furto et rapina congererent quod in Paschali sollemnitate profusissimis, tanquam ad honorem resurgentis Domini, absumeretur conviviis; eratque inter eos ingens concertatio ne forte quis ab alio immoderatissimis ferculorum præparationibus vel appositionibus vinceretur. Verum hanc superstitiosissimam consuetudinem cum statu libertatis propriæ debellati finierunt. Sane inter proceres regis Anglorum qui erant in Hibernia, Hugo de Lasci[3] præcipuus et præpollens habebatur: cui nimirum idem rex, post mortem strenuissimi comitis Ricardi, amplissimas ibidem possessiones contulerat, et suorum dominiorum[4] administrationem commiserat.[5] Ille vero in brevi ita dilatavit terminos[6] suos, et prosperatus auctusque est magnitudine opum et[7] virium, ut jam non solum hostibus verum etiam sociis, id est, aliis proceribus regiis, esset terribilis;

A.D. 1172–86.

He is forced by the king's lieutenants to quit Ireland.

Armagh captured.

Ignorance of the Irish.

Hugh de Lacy becomes the king's lieutenant in Ireland after Richard de Clare.

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[1] C. has *Artemagia*, by alteration from *arte magica*.

[2] C. has *superstitiose*.

[3] *Lasci*, C.L.; *Laci*, B.

[4] *dominiorum*, L., by correction; B. and C. have *dominicorum*.

[5] Compare Ben. Petr. I. 161–5, and Gir. Cambr. v. 347 (Rolls' ed.).

[6] *terminos*, B.L.; *fines*, C.

[7] *et*, C.L.; om. B.

A.D. 1172–86.

He appears to be aspiring to a crown.

His disobedience to Henry's orders.

nam et his infestus erat, si forte minus parerent. Videbaturque sibi jam magis quam regi Anglorum regnum Hibernicum æmulari, in tantum ut diadema sibi regium[1] parasse diceretur. Quibus regi nuntiatis, evocatus ab eo, mandatum contempsit, et per hanc inobedientiam fidem fecit præsumptionis vulgatæ.[2] Verum post modicum, tanquam pro rege Anglorum æmulante fortuna, cujusdam ex fœderatis Hiberniensibus familiaris et domestici juvenis perfidiam expertus, occubuit.

He is assassinated (July 25, 1186).

Cum enim spatiandi gratia in agrum ex munitione egressus, avulsusque a satellitibus fere quantum jactus est lapidis, forte se inclinasset, ut nescio quid designaret in terra, perfidus ille diu quæsitam occasionem nactum se gaudens, bipennem fortiter in caput ejus vibravit; quo absciso et satellitibus ad ulciscendum frustra concurrentibus, beneficio silvæ proximæ et pernicitatis propriæ elapsus evasit. Hujus rei nuntius regem Anglorum in extremis regni finibus, ut dictum est, constitutum ingenti perfudit lætitia. Moxque res Hibernicæ cautiorem ab eo ordinationem suscepere.

Cap. X.

A.D. 1184.

De adventu patriarchæ in Angliam, et morte regis Ierosolymorum, et regno filii ejus, et de Saladino.[3]

Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, comes to England to urge Henry to lead a new crusade.

Anno a partu Virginis M^o^C^o^ LXXX^o^IV^o^, qui fuit Henrici regis secundi XXX^us^ primus,[4] Ierosolymitanus patriarcha, causis urgentibus, ab Orientali missus ecclesia venit in Angliam. Ut autem hæ causæ melius elucescant, a tempore regis Amalrici,[5] quem superior

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[1] *regium*, C.L.; *regnum* in B. Cf. Bened. Petr. i. 270 and Gir. Cambr. v. 353, 5.

[2] *vulgatæ*, B.L.; *vulgare*, C. He obeyed recalls in 1181 and 1184.

[3] *et regno . . . . Saladino*, C.L.; om. B.

[4] *See* note 3 on p. 117.

[5] B. has *Amalrice*.

sermo non tacuit, res Ierosolymitanas sub brevitate transcurrimus.[1] Qui nimirum Amalricus,[2] post multa fortiter et feliciter gesta, hominem exuens, filio impuberi Baldwino regnum reliquit. Hic autem cum non parvæ spei esset, occulto Dei judicio plaga lepræ percussus, regni tamen quoad vixit moderamina animi magis quam corporis viribus tenuit; et ut certus sibi successor propter imminentia terræ pericula non deesset, ex sororis nuptiis stirpis regiæ seriem currere voluit. Eodem tempore, mortuo Noradino rege Syriæ et Mesopotamiæ, qui populo Christiano post patrem Sanguinum virga furoris Domini fuerat, surrexit pro eo Saladinus,[3] non jam virga sed malleus. Hic Sarraconis nepos, qui Sarraco, ut superius dictum est, princeps militiæ Noradini exstiterat, illi defuncto in eodem principatu successit, homo astutiæ singularis et mille nocendi artibus instructus. Mortuo autem Noradino, uxoris ejus connubium appetivit, eaque tradente Damascum et fines ejus accepit. Cumque esset militiæ Turcorum gratissimus, vires artibus et artes viribus juvans, exheredato Noradini filio, amplissimum regnum ejus obtinuit. Mox in Ægyptum arma transferens, absumptis[4] terræ illius principibus, locupletissimum arripuit regnum Babylonis; Lybia quoque atque Arabia potitus, nactus est nomen grande supra nomen aliorum magnorum qui sunt in terra. Denique, ut dicitur, octo regnis ditissimis præsidens, parum tamen a se actum putabat dum Christiani chao[5] magno, id est,[6] mari Mediterraneo, ab orbe Christiano seclusi, Jerusalem et Antiochiam, et maritimas Syriæ civitates possiderent. Totum ergo in ipsos latissimi imperii sui

A.D. 1184.

Events in Palestine. Amalric left (A.D. 1173) the kingdom of Jerusalem to his son Baldwin IV., a minor, who became leprous. Death of Noradin (A.D. 1173), and rise of Saladin.

Saladin married the widow of Noradin, and setting aside the son of the latter obtained his kingdom.

Saladin turns his arms against the Christians.

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[1] Thus in A.B.C.L.R.

[2] B. and C. have *Almaricus*.

[3] This account of Saladin is from the *Itinerarium*, i. 10.

[4] *absumptis*, B.L.; *assumptis*, C.

[5] *Chaos*, C.L.; *Cahos*, B.

[6] *id est*, B.L.; *idem*, C.

A.D. 1184. robur convertens, homo in seculari potentia sive astutia vix comparationem recipiens modis omnibus nitebatur devorare plebem Dei, sicut escam panis, et trophæum crucis[1] Christi avellere a partibus Orientis, ubi prius erectum est.

CAP. XI.

Quomodo victus est Saladinus a Christianis,[2] et quomodo postea prævaluit.

A.D. 1177.

Philip count of Flanders leads an expedition to the Holy Land (about May 1). He besieges Harenc (A.D. 1177). Returns (Oct. 1178). Baldwin the Leper defeats Saladin at Ramlah, Nov. 25 (A.D. 1177).

Circa hos dies Philippus illustris Flandriæ comes, piæ devotionis instinctu,[3] cum numerosa militia terram Ierosolymitanam ingressus, contra Saladinum aliquid agere et fines voluit Christianos dilatare. Verum offensus a Templariis, ad terram Antiochenam, invitante principe, militiam Christianam traduxit, eoque cooperante, munitissimum oppidum Hareng nominatum, nihil ibidem acturus sed inglorius recessurus, obsedit. Audiens autem Saladinus, abducta militia terram Domini plus solito præsidiis vacuatam, cum infinito exercitu repentinus irruit, nec moratus in terminis, tanquam possessurus eam intima ejus illico penetravit. Tunc princeps Christianus, lepram corporis animi virtute exornans, quantulam pro tempore potuit militiam convocavit, et, prœliaturus non suum sed Domini prœlium, hostium numeros non expavit. Itaque, præeunte vexillo Dominico, juxta Rama oppidum quod hostes obsederant, congressurus[4] cum eis, tremendas illas gentis spurcissimæ[5] copias, divino fretus auxilio, profligavit. Saladinus, fuga

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[1] *crucis*, B.C.; om. L.

[2] *victus . . . Christianis*, B.C.L.; *victus Saladinus*, R.

[3] Benedict (i. 116) says, seeking to become king of Jerusalem.

[4] *congressurus*, C.L.; *congressus*, B.

[5] *spurcissimæ*, B.C.; *spurcissimas*, L.R.

elapsus, ægre evasit, cæsis de exercitu ejus multis millibus. Gestum est hoc prœlium a Christianis, Christo propitio, feliciter, septimo calendas Decembris. Verum anno sequenti[1] propter peccata, quæ utique Divinitas, dum hic vivitur, minus in suis quam in alienis dissimulat, contra Christianum populum in Terra Sancta degentem et minus sancte viventem cœlestis ira excanduit. Cum enim Saladinus ad expiandum præcedentis anni dedecus fines Christianos instructior terribiliorque invaderet, nostri quoque multo instructiores et numerosiores quam prius, atque ideo minus in Domino, dum de se præsumerent, confidentes, prœlium illi in terminis intulerunt; ubi Deo resistente superbis, quibus antea humilibus dederat gratiam, magna virium Christianarum[2] contritio facta est, cæso non parvo militum[3] numero, cum magistro militiæ Templi et optimatibus plurimis.[4] Initium dolorum hoc. Nondum enim aversus erat furor Domini, sed adhuc manus ejus extenta. Denique postquam Cæsarea Philippi, quæ nunc Belinas dicitur, et erat quasi clavis finium Christianorum contra Damascum, inciderat, ut supradictum est, in manus hostiles, Templarii tam suis quam emendicatis undecunque opibus, munitionem satis utilem ad Vadum Jacob exstruxerunt, ne hostes a parte ejusdem Cæsareæ in fines libere Christianos excurrerent. Surgebant indies[5] structuræ murorum et excubabat ibidem jugiter non parvus armatorum numerus, ne forte irruptione hostili impediretur opus. Diu quidem hoc cum livore et gemitu dissimulatum toleratumque est a Turcis, dum integræ essent vires Christianæ. Quas cum, clade paulo ante accepta, languidiores esse conspicerent, tempus nacti, muniti-

A.D. 1177.

A.D. 1178.

The Christians suffer a defeat.

Isaias v. 25, ix. 12.

The Templars build a castle at Jacob's Ford (Oct. 1178).

[1] Cf. Bened. Petrob. (i. 130, note 10) as to the events of this chapter.

[2] *Christianarum*, by correction, L.; *Christianorum*, B.C.

[3] *militum*, B.; *milium*, C.L.

[4] *plurimis*, B.L.; *pluribus*, C.

[5] *indies*, B.C.; *in die*, L.

A.D. 1179. onem illam, armis virisque refertam, obsidione cinxerunt, atque, adhibitis machinis, fortiter oppugnare cœperunt. Congregatus est autem[1] exercitus Christianus apud Tiberiadem ut obsidionem solveret, at non ea alacritate qua solebat. Ibi optimates nostri de agendis tractantes, nequaquam sibi tutum esse censuerunt, absente cruce Dominica, cum numerosissimis hostibus congredi. Mittuntur Ierosolymam qui signum salutare exhibeant; at in ea mora expugnata est munitio. Qua celeriter eversa, Turci cum ingentibus spoliis abierunt. Capta est enim ibi magna vis armorum, et multus sanguis Christianus effusus. Nec multo post Saladinus, Christianos ex improviso fines aggressus, Neapolim, quæ olim Sichima dicebatur, captam evertit, et facta[2] hominum strage non modica, dum nostri convenirent, in propria se recepit.

The Christian forces assemble to succour the Templars, but wait for the True Cross, and the castle at Jacob's Ford is in the meanwhile stormed (April 1179).

Saladin takes Neapolis (Sichem).

Cap. XII.

De causa adventus patriarchæ in Angliam.[3]

A.D. 1184. Eo tempore rex Ierosolymorum, mortis beneficio liberatus a lepra, nepoti ex sorore, novenni puero, regnum reliquit. Qui cum esset unctus in regem, sub tutela comitis Tripolitani pro ætate nutriebatur; rerum vero summa penes eundem comitem potissimum esse videbatur. Cum[4] ergo res Ierosolymitanæ indies languescerent, atque illud Salomonis, "Maledicta terra "cujus rex puer est, et cujus principes mane comedunt," prudentes terræ illius crebra cogitatione versarent; generali providentia statutum est ut vir magnus, cujus cum quantitate negotii moveret auctoritas, Sanctæ scilicet Resurrectionis patriarcha, petendi con-

Death of Baldwin the Leper (16 March 1185). Baldwin V., a child of nine years, succeeds him.

Eccles. x. 16.

Heraclius patriarch of Jerusa-

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[1] *autem*, C.L.; om. B.

[2] *facta*, B.L.; *facta est*, C. An error: Naplous was not taken till 1187.

[3] *Angliam*, C.L.; *Anglia*, B.

[4] Heraclius was sent (after 15 Sept. 1184) by Baldwin the Leper; not, as Newburgh seems to think, after his death. See R. de Diceto (ii. 27), and see p. 240.

tra immanissimum hostem Saladinum auxilii gratia, ad Christianos principes in Europam mitteretur, et maxime ad illustrem Anglorum regem, cujus efficacior et promptior opera sperabatur. Idem igitur patriarcha post maris discrimina Romam veniens, et, juncta patriarchali auctoritate Apostolica processurus, hanc a papa Lucio ad regem Anglorum accepit epistolam :[1]

A.D. 1184. ——— lem is sent to the West, and specially to England for aid.

Epistola domini papæ ad[2] *regem Anglorum.*

"Lucius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in " Christo filio Henrico illustri regi Anglorum, salutem, et " Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum incliti prædecessores tui " præ ceteris terræ principibus armorum gloria et nobilitate " animi longe retro claruerint, eosque fidelium populus in[3] " sua didicerit adversitate patronos; merito ad te, non tan- " tum regni sed et[4] paternarum virtutum heredem, quadam " securitate præsumpta, recurritur, ubi populo Christiano im- " minere periculum, immo exterminium, formidatur; ut per " brachium regiæ magnitudinis membris Ejus impendatur " præsidium, qui ut ad tantæ gloriæ et prælationis apicem " pervenires sua pietate concessit, et te contra sui nominis " impugnatores nefarios murum inexpugnabilem ordinavit. " Proinde novit[5] serenitas tua, jam crebris et molestis " super hoc pulsata querelis, qualiter terra Ierosolymitana, " specialis hereditas Crucifixi, in qua nostræ salutis sunt præ- " nuntiata mysteria, et ipsius rei exhibitione completa, quam " Ille, qui cuncta condidit in sortem suam, peculiari privi- " legio deputavit, perfidæ et spurcissimæ gentis attrita et cir- " cumvallata pressuris, nisi ei celeri remedio succurratur, " prona sit ad ruinam; et inde sustineat, quod absit, irre- " parabilem religio Christiana jacturam. Ille enim Saladi- " nus, sancti et tremendi Nominis immanissimus persecutor, " ita spiritu furoris excanduit, et totius nequitiæ suæ vires, " ad internecionem populi fidelis exercet, ut nisi immani-

Letter of pope Lucius III. to king Henry.

[1] This letter is given also by Bened. Petr. (i. p. 332, 3.)

[2] *papæ ad*, B.L.; *papæ in Angliam ad*, C.

[3] *in*, C.L.; om. B.

[4] *et*, C.L.; om. B.

[5] *novit*, B.C.R.; *noverit*, L. The letter as quoted by Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls' ed. vol. i. p. 332) has the reading *novit*.

A.D. 1184.

Letter of pope Lucius.

" tatis ejus vehemens impetus quasi objectis obicibus reprimatur, certam spem fiduciamque concipiat, quod influat Jordanis in os ejus, et terra aspersione vivifici sanguinis consecrata, spurcissimæ superstitionis ipsius contagio polluatur; et quam gloriosi et nobiles prædecessores tui a dominio gentis incredulæ multis laboribus et periculis exemerunt, rursus nefando tyranni nequissimi dominio subjugetur.[1] Ob hanc itaque necessitatis, et imminentis doloris instantiam, magnificentiam tuam Apostolicis literis duximus exhortandam, immo, dilatatis præcordiis, summa acclamatione pulsandam, quatenus ad honorem Ipsius respiciens, qui te constituit in sublime, et juxta magnorum qui sunt in terra nomen tibi contulit gloriosum, ad desolationem præfatæ terræ pietatis studio te convertas; et ut Ejus confusio in hac parte tollatur, qui pro te in terra ipsa voluit haberi[2] ludibrio, operam adhibeas efficacem, quatenus prædecessorum tuorum vestigia subsecutus, quam ipsi de principis tenebrarum faucibus eruerunt, in cultu magni Dei per tuam diligentiam, auxiliante Domino, conservetur. Eo autem curiosius celsitudinem tuam in tanta oppressionis angustia convenit laborare, quod terram ipsam regis intelligis præsidio destitutam; et totam spem defensionis[3] suæ ipsius proceres in tuæ magnitudinis patrocinio duxerunt collocandam. Quod inde clarius tua serenitas potest agnoscere, quod summos terræ illius et magnificos defensores, venerabilem fratrem nostrum E[raclium][4] patriarcham, et dilectum filium magistrum[5] Hospitalis ad tuam excellentiam destinarunt, ut ex ipsorum præsentia, considerata dignitate, perpenderes quanta fuerit necessitatis angustia, pro qua eorum sustinent tamdiu carere præsidio, ut per ipsos facilius ad vota sua tuam devotionem inclinent. Viros igitur præfatos, tanquam ab ipso Domino tibi destinatos, benigne recipias, et debita caritate pertractes; eorumque postulationibus tanto facilius acquiescas, quanto suæ gravitatis et honestatis intuitu favor est eis et gratia exhibenda. Sane recolat prudentia tua, et sollicita

Job. xl. 18.

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[1] *subjugetur*, B.L.; *subrogetur*, C.

[2] *haberi*, B.C.; *habere*, L.

[3] *defensionis*, B.L.; *in defensionis*, C.

[4] *E[raclium]*, the initial letter E. is alone supplied by the MSS. (A.B.C.L.R.)

[5] *magistrum*, B.C.; om. L. He died on the way, at Verona.

" secum meditatione revolvat, promissionem illam, qua de " impendendo sæpedictæ terræ præsidio, tuam celsitudinem " obligasti; et ita in hac parte te[1] cautum et studiosum " exhibeas, ut te in tremendo judicio tua conscientia non " accuset, et Ejus, qui non fallitur, districti judicis interro- " gatio non condemnet. Valete."[2]

A.D. 1184. Letter of pope Lucius.

Cap. XIII.

Quomodo patriarcha, infecto negotio, repatriavit.[3]

A.D. 1185.

Venerabilis igitur patriarcha in Angliam veniens, circa negotium propter quod venerat sollicite satagebat. Eo, quo decebat, honore a rege susceptus, propriæ fatigationis causas aperuit; et ut in tam sanctam accingeretur militiam, tanquam ordinatus a Deo votisque omnium expostulatus ad debellandam spurcissimi Saladini superbiam, cum dignæ auctoritatis pondere monuit. Rege salubria monita benigne admittente, et responsum post competens deliberandi spatium pollicente, aliquantisper est in Anglia demoratus. Verum cum ille certa et enormia regni proprii ex sua peregrinatione pericula allegaret, et vice suæ præsentiæ ad sublevationem Orientalis ecclesiæ decentem pecuniæ modum promitteret; tandem inanior[4] spei quam venerat, in Galliam remeavit. Rex quoque ad transmarina vocatus negotia transfretavit. Cumque inter ipsum et regem Francorum exitialis discordiæ germina pullularent,[5] diabolo scilicet modis omnibus satagente ut Christiani principes, vires inter se Christianas enervantes, terræ et civitati, ex qua salus omnium fluxit, multiplici expositæ periculo minime subvenirent, venerabilis patriarcha, infecto negotio, repatriavit.[6]

The patriarch urges Henry to undertake a crusade. The king excuses himself, but promises money. He crosses to Normandy (April 16). Discord between Henry and Philip Augustus. The patriarch returns (about Aug. 1).

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[1] *te*, B.L.; om. C.

[2] *Valete*, B.C.; om. L.

[3] B. has *patriarcha in Angliam venit*; R. omits this chapter.

[4] *inanior*, B.L.; *jam pronior*, C.

[5] See Benedict, i. 343, 353, as to the disputes about Margaret's dower, and then about the wardship of Geoffrey's children.

[6] Gir. Cambr. (Hib. Exp. v. 360–3) gives details, and the patriarch's prophecy against Henry.

Cap. XIV.

De discordia regum atque induciis.

A.D. 1187.

The kings of France and England assemble troops.

Their forces face each other at Châteaux Roux.

Igitur ortum inter reges malum discordiæ multos involvit populos. Cum enim unaquæque gens pro suo principe æmularetur, ita contra se mutuo animabantur et præparabantur, tanquam singuli vel proprium emolumentum seu [1] gloriam quærerent, vel injurias proprias ulturi essent. Coieruntque [2] ex diversis hinc inde [3] provinciis, apud castrum quod Radulfi [4] dicitur, ferocissimo agitatæ [5] spiritu, armatorum multitudines, mira vesania regum suorum gloriæ vel potius superbiæ [6] sanguinem proprium libaturæ. Quid enim insanius quam pro inani nec sua sed alterius gloria ita [7] æmulari? et quid iniquius vel miserabilius quam pro unius hominis commodo, vel etiam fastu nudo, tot Christianorum millia periclitari? Cumque e [8] castris hinc inde oppositis per dies aliquot torvis se mutuo vultibus duo magni exercitus prospectarent, frustra circa vel pacem vel inducias satagentibus atque aerem tantum verberantibus viris pacificis, tandem fatalis et tremendus conserendi manus dies illuxit. Turmis ad pugnam dispositis, parum jam aberat a concursu mutuo, cum ecce! occultis magis, ut dicitur, ducum susurriis quam prolocutionibus publicis, indultæ in dies plurimos induciæ in utroque exercitu voce præconia declarantur. Plane vox [9] ista multo gratius insonuit auribus omnium, quam vox tubæ accendentis ad prœlium. Gentes igitur quæ [10] paulo ante hostiliter fremebant, et populi qui prius meditabantur inania, vel

The day of battle arrives, but the endeavours of the two kings' advisers avert the combat (June 23).

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[1] *seu*, B.L.; *sui*, C.

[2] *coieruntque*, B.L.; *convenerunt-que*, C.; *cogeruntque*, R.

[3] *inde*, B.L.; *indeque*, C.

[4] Philip besieged Richard and John in the castle. King Henry marched to the relief.

[5] *agitatæ*, B.L.; *agitante*, C.

[6] *superbiæ*, B.C.; om. L.

[7] *ita*, B.C.; om. L.

[8] *e*, C.; *a*, B.; *de*, L.

[9] *vox*, B.L.; *et vox*, C.

[10] *quæ*, B.L.; om. C.

potius insana, Deo propitio, cum incruento[1] gaudio abiere in sua. Rex autem Anglorum, dimisso exercitu, in transmarinis regionibus morabatur, firmandæ magis pacis quam suscitandi furoris bellici negotiis[2] deditus. Olim enim pro ætate bellorum pertæsus,[3] nulla jam libidine sed sola necessitate ad intentionem bellicam trahebatur. A.D. 1187.

Cap. XV.

De prærogativa terræ Ierosolymitanæ, propter quam totiens devorat habitatores suos.[4]

Itin. Reg. Ricardi, i. 6. — A.D. 1187. — Gloomy prospects of the Christians in Palestine.

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Verbum caro factum est M°C°LXXX°VII°., regnante in Alemannia Frederico, in Francia Philippo, in Anglia Henrico secundo, Urbano autem, qui Lucio successerat, sedi Apostolicæ præsidente, aggravata est manus Domini super terram Ierosolymitanam;[5] et secundum Jeremiam, plaga inimici percussit eam castigatione crudeli. (1 Reg. v. 6. Jerem. xxx. 14.) Civitas Sancta, in qua invocatum est nomen Domini a diebus antiquis, in qua sacræ prophetiæ floruerunt, in qua redemptionis humanæ insignia micuerunt, ex qua salutis in omnem mundi latitudinem sacramenta fluxerunt, proh dolor! incidit in manus gentis profanæ et immundæ; terra sanctorum qui a seculo sunt prophetarum; terra Apostolorum, immo ipsius Domini et Salvatoris, quam scilicet incarnationis et nativitatis suæ mysterio initiavit; conversatione sua et prædicatione, signisque illustravit; passione sua et sepultura et resurrectione consecravit; ascensionis suæ triumpho et adventu Paracliti irradiavit; spur-

The author's reflections upon the fall of Jerusalem.

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[1] *incruento*, C.L.; *ingenti*, B.
[2] *negotiis*, B.L.; *magis negotiis*, C.
[3] *Olim . . . pertæsus*, B.L.; C. has *dum enim . . olim pertæsus*.
[4] *habitatores suos*, C.L.; om. B.
[5] Almost the words of the *Itinerarium*. The chapters as to the Crusades from this point are sel-

A.D. 1187. cissimus Saladinus occupavit, fidelium populis vacuavit, et, abrasis Christianæ religionis insignibus, immundissimæ sectæ suæ sacrilegiis profanavit. Datumque est ei non solum os loquens ingentia, sed etiam brachium faciens grandia, adversus Dominum et adversus populum Christi ejus. Nam de eodem populo impletum est illud Jeremiæ immo Dominicum per os ejus, "Ejice[1] illos a facie mea; et egredian- Jerem. xv. 1, 2
"tur,[2] qui ad mortem, ad mortem; et qui ad gladi-
"um, ad gladium; et qui ad famem, ad famem; et
"qui ad captivitatem, ad captivitatem." Hujus autem miserabilis et famosi exterminii causam fuisse peccata plus solito inundantia nemo debet ambigere.

He attributes the failure of the Christians to their sins.

Et quidem ab initio in omnibus quæ sub cœlo sunt regionibus, patientius Divinitas peccata dissimulasse noscitur, quam in terra illa, quam utique gratia tantorum tamque insignium operum divinorum, quæ in ea mirabiliter patrata vel patranda fuere, quadam, ut ita dicam, privilegiali necessitate sanctam esse oportuit, aut non diu impunitam. Quippe hanc Deus elegit ab initio illius præclarissimæ dignationis suæ, quæ scilicet omnia divina longe antecellit opera, id est, suæ incarnationis et humanæ redemptionis, suo tempore nobilitandam miraculis. Horum sane in ea suo tempore patrandorum gratia, singulare præ cunctis regionibus semper privilegium habuit, quod utique gratia eorundem jam patratorum cumulatius habere dignoscitur. Inde est quod scriptura sacra locis pluribus ejus prærogativam tam præclare commendat. Quod si vel[3] ad opum gloriam, vel ad fructuum[4] referas ubertatem, occurrit tibi verissima ratio, quod utique[5] in his plurimæ illi regiones æquentur, et quædam etiam præstent; nisi forte in iis quæ de[6]

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dom much more than summaries from that source.

[1] *ejice*, B.L.; *ejicite*, C.

[2] *ingrediantur*, C.

[3] *vel*, C.L.; om. B.

[4] *fructuum*, C.L.; *fructum*, B.

[5] *utique*, L.; om. B.C.R.

[6] *de*, C.L.; om. B.

India memorantur vana sit fides. Ergo hoc solo A.D. 1187.
præ cunctis terris inclita, vel olim fuisse vel nunc esse dignoscitur, quod in ea et olim patrandum erat et nunc patratum esse constat, illud humanæ redemptionis tam magnum et tam mirabile sacramentum. Nam si peculiari populo suo, id est, semini Abrahæ, terrenam hereditatem Deus propter excellentissimam fructuum fertilitatem largiri voluisset, in India potius quam in Syria possessionem tribuisset. Nunc autem, divina sua provisione, populo ad hoc electo, ut ex eo humanæ redemptionis hostia suo tempore sumeretur, terram illam in possessionem dedit, quam ab initio elegerat, ut in ea eadem reconciliatrix hostia lætaretur. Hujus rei gratia eandem
Levit. xxv. 23. terram specialiter suam vocat: "Terra," inquiens, "non vendetur in perpetuum, quia mea est, et vos "advenæ et coloni mei." Sane hujus terræ primi post diluvium incolæ fuere Cananei et Amorrei,[1] et cognati horum populi. Quos nimirum Dominus propter mores flagitiosissimos suo tempore disperdendos esse prævidens, adduxit illuc Abraham, generosæ
Gen. xii. 7. stirpis patrem futurum, de Ur Chaldeorum: "Semi-"ni," inquiens, "tuo dabo terram hanc." Porro ipsi
Act. Ap. vii. 5. Abrahæ nec passum pedis, ut ait Apostolus, dedit in ea: quia juxta vocem divinam, nondum completa erant peccata Amorreorum; id est, non tantum jam excreverant atque invaluerant, ut propter hæc a Deo indulgenter magis quam rigide peccata pensata iidem peccatores exterminari deberent. Itaque a Deo[2] præscio et justo, non rigido, peccatorum completio patienter est exspectata, et exterminatio peccantium usque ad completionem peccatorum dilata. Idcirco

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[1] *Amorrei*, C.L.; *Amorei*, B., with similar variations below, on this and the following page.

[2] *indulgenter . . . a Deo*, L., also C. and R. (both with reading *pensante* for *pensata*); B. omits the passage.

A.D. 1187. Abraham illius terræ non est factus possessor sed advena: porro semen ejus, completis jam peccatis Amorreorum,[1] accepit in possessionem terram eorum; et ut eandem terram possideret, Deo largiente, eosdem exterminavit impios, Deo jubente. Num putamus hanc gentem peccatricem enormius peccasse quam gentes ceteras orbis terrarum, scilicet ut illæsis ceteris sola exterminium pateretur? Certe orbem universum caligo erroris involverat; et nemo respectu divini judicii, quod utique nesciebat, vetabatur facere quod libebat. Non igitur gens illa ideo sola divini severitatem judicii experta est, quod ceteris gentibus sordidior fuerit; sed terram, clarissimis divinæ dignationis suo tempore nobilitandam miraculis, incolarum suorum tunc deformatam peccatis, eorundem incolarum exterminio expiari, et populo electo, id est, semini Abrahæ, sacræ fidei habenti[2] characterem, in hereditatem dari oportuit. Quamobrem eidem populo a Moyse in Deuteronomio dictum est: "Non propter justitias tuas "ingredieris ut possideas terram istarum nationum; "sed propter impietates suas, te introeunte, deletæ "sunt, et ut impleret verbum suum Dominus, quod "sub juramento pollicitus est patribus tuis Abraham, "Isaac, et Jacob." In Levitico quoque filiis Abrahæ divina voce dicitur: "Ne polluamini in omnibus qui"bus contaminatæ sunt gentes, quas ego ejiciam "ante conspectum vestrum: a quibus polluta est "terra, cujus ego scelera visitabo, ut evomat habita"tores suos. Cavete ergo ne et vos similiter evomat, "cum paria feceritis, sicut evomuit gentem quæ fuit "ante vos."[3] Ceteræ vero regiones tale privilegium non habentes, non ita devorant vel evomunt habitatores suos, cum effusius peccatis[4] sorduerint, sicut illa,

Deut. ix. 5.

The author proves from Holy Writ that those who have polluted the Land of Promise have always been swept away.

Levit. xviii. 24, 25, 28.

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[1] *Amorreorum*, C.L.; *Amoreorum*, B.

[2] *habenti*, B.L.; *habente*, C.

[3] *In Levitico quoque . . . ante vos*, C.L.R.; the whole of the passage (about seven lines) is omitted by B.

[4] *peccatis*, B.L.; *peccata*, C.

quæ et[1] ipsum semen Abrahæ, cui in hereditatem[2] data erat, eo quod eam suorum enormitate facinorum deformaret, postmodum juste evomuit. Et majorem quidem partem ejus,[3] id est, decem tribus, irrevocabiliter extorres, duas vero tribus, id est, tribum Juda, de qua ipse Dominus secundum carnem nasciturus, et tribum Benjamin, quæ vas electionis editura erat, evomuit in[4] Babylonem, suo tempore revocandas.[5] Quas tamen[6] postmodum, eo quod non cognoverint[7] tempus visitationis suæ,[8] sed detestabili vesania proprium peremerunt Redemptorem, eadem terra, jam in ea patratis divinis mysteriis inclita, severiori judicio nunquam[9] revocandas evomuit, Romanis imperatoribus Vespasiano et Tito divinæ animadversionis ministris. Exterminato autem carnali semine Abrahæ, quod ita degenerabat ut ei a Domino diceretur, "Terræ "Sodomorum remissius erit in die judicii quam vo- "bis," conculcatum est a gentibus sanctuarium Dei usque ad tempus religiosi Augusti Constantini Magni. Tunc enim Terra Sancta, pio ejusdem principis studio, a gentilium rituum sordibus emundata, data est in hereditatem et possessionem vero semini Abrahæ, id est, Christianis; a quibus et possessa est annis multis usque post tempora[10] beati Gregorii. Tandem enim et hos habitatores suos, cum divinam contra se iracundiam, peccatis excrescentibus, accendissent,[11] Terra Sancta, quæ ab eis maculabatur, devoravit sive evomuit, et contaminarunt eam Agareni habitatione sua spurcissima, usque ad annum a plenitudine temporis

A.D. 1187.

Luc. xix. 44.

Matt. xi. 24.

The Holy Land was restored by Constantine to the Christians, the true seed of Abraham, but these becoming evil are in their turn cast forth by the Saracens.

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[1] *et*, C.L.; om. B.

[2] *hereditatem*, B.L.; *hereditate*, C.

[3] *ejus*, B.L.; *ejusdem*, C.

[4] *in*, C.L.; *usque in*, B.

[5] *suo . . . revocandas*, C.L.; om. B.

[6] The Stowe MS. resumes after *quas tamen* with the words *postmodum eo quod*, see note on p. 227.

[7] *cognoverint*, L.R.S.; *cognoverunt*, B; *cognovit*, C.

[8] *suæ*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

[9] *nunquam*, C.L.S.; *unquam*, B.

[10] *tempora*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[11] *accendissent*, B.C.S.; *accedissent*, L.

A.D. 1187. quo Verbum caro factum est millesimum nonagesimum nonum. Tunc enim Civitas Sancta, ut superius memoratum est, per militiam Christianam, ab Europæ partibus venientem, Agarenos habitatores evomuit, et impleta est etiam in hoc[1] illa prophetia Noë, "Dilatet Deus Japheth, et habitet in tabernaculis Sem." Quippe de Sem gentes Asiæ, de Japheth vero ortæ sunt gentes Europæ. Japheth ergo quodammodo habitationem accepit in tabernaculis Sem quando homines Europæ, expulsis Agarenis, in provincia Asiæ Palæstina habitare cœperunt. Fuit autem habitatio filiorum Japheth in Terra Sancta annorum circiter lxxxtaviitem hoc est ab anno a partu Virginis M° nonagesimo nono usque ad annum millesimum centesimum octogesimum septimum. Tunc enim et ipsos, peccatis eorum invalescentibus, atque ideo Agarenis[2] prævalentibus, quod sine gemitu non dicimus, Terra Sancta more[3] suo evomuit. Erant[4] enim jam in Jerusalem et regno ejus, non ut olim, viri religiosi ex omni natione quæ sub cœlo est, sed[5] ex omni gente Christiana facinorosi, luxuriosi, ebriosi, mimi, histriones, hoc genus omne in Terram Sanctam tanquam in sentinam[6] quandam[7] confluxerat, eamque obscœnis moribus et actibus inquinabat. Ipsius quoque terræ novi indigenæ, quos Pullanos vocabant, Sarracenorum infecti vicinia, non multum ab eis vel fide vel moribus discrepabant, atque inter Christianos et Sarracenos tanquam quidam neutri esse videbantur. Sic ergo terra Domini nostris temporibus ab advenis simul et indigenis inquinata, utrosque tandem judicio Dei evomuit, et nunc tolerat gentem immundissimam Agarenos usque ad tempus, procul dubio et hos devoratura cum Deus voluerit. Sane a[8] Chris-

The First Crusade casts out the unbelievers.

Gen. ix. 27.

The sins of the Christians again waxing gross, the Holy Land once more rejects them.

[1] *hoc*, B.C.S.; om. L.
[2] *Agarenis*, B.C.S.; *Agarrenis*, L.
[3] *more*, C.L.S.; *in ore*, B.
[4] *erant*, C.L.S.; *erat*, B.
[5] *est, sed*, B.L.S.; *sunt, et*, C.
[6] *sentinam*, C.L.S.; *feminam*, B.
[7] *quandam*, B.C.S.; *tanquam*, L.
[8] *sane a*, B.L.S.; *sane cum a*, C.

tianis recepta est sub papatu Urbani secundi, et recidit[1] in manus Agarenorum sub pontificatu Urbani tertii, lxxx^ta^vii^tem^, ut dictum est, annis interlapsis. Quomodo autem hoc contigerit, plenius exponendum est: non quidem propter præsentes, quia res recentissimæ memoriæ est, et satis nota omnibus, sed ut ad[2] posteros insignium malorum nostri temporis non superflua notitia stili nostri ministerio transmittatur. A.D. 1187

Cap. XVI.

De Guidone[3] Rege Ierosolymorum.

A.D. 1187. Affairs of the Holy Land. Death of the child Baldwin V. (about August 1186). The daughter of Amalric assumes the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Dissensions caused by the elevation of her second husband, Guy of

Novennis igitur puer post avunculum in regno Ierosolymorum unctus in regem, paulo post rapitur ex[4] hac vita, infectus, ut putatur arte venenata tutoris proprii, comitis scilicet Tripolitani. Qui nimirum, cum esset vir magnus et potens, et propinquus regum priorum, aspirabat ad regnum, quod scilicet, sublato quem nutriebat puero, facile sibi cessurum sperabat. Verum patriarcha et pars optimatum terræ cum militia Templi et Hospitalis, matri exstincti pueri, filiæ scilicet illustrissimi regis Amalrici,[5] tanquam propinquiori et justiori heredi, regnum dederunt, indignum tamen matrimonium ejus causati:[6] nam tempore fratris regis voto proprio secundas contraxerat[7] nuptias cum homine peregriuo, Guidone[8] scilicet quodam Pictavensi, qui a facie regis Anglorum Henrici secundi de Aquitania fugerat, et regi Ierosolymorum egregie militabat. Illa vero munitionibus urbibusque potita, Templariis cum patriarcha annitentibus, viro proprio diadema regium[9] tradidit.

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1 *recidit*, C.S.; *recedit*, B.L.
2 *ad*, B.C.S.; om. L.
3 *Guidone*, C.S.; *Gwidone*, B.L.
4 *ex*, B.C.L.R.S.; *et ex*, C.
5 *Amalrici*, C.L.S.; *Almarici*, B.
6 *causati*, B.; *causanti*, C.L.R.S.
7 *contraxerat*, C.L.S.; *contraxerit*, B.
8 *Guidone*, C.L.S.; *Gwidone*, B.
9 *regium*, L.R.S.; *regni*, B.; *et regnum*, C.

A.D. 1187.

Lusignan, to the throne.

Unde supra modum indignati sunt optimates, nec æquanimiter pati potuere hominem peregrinum, et qui non esset de stirpe regum, levari super capita sua, cum de semine regio suppeterent, a quibus regnum, ut credebant, decentius et magnificentius regeretur. Eorum[1] quidem plurimi, dissimulata pavide vel callide ira, pro tempore siluere, et principi extraordinario specietenus paruere, sub exspectatione apti temporis quo a suis cervicibus jugum ejus executerent. Verum comes Tripolitanus, quem ira fortior stimulabat, propriis vel viribus vel artibus fretus, manifeste obstitit, et jugum ejus vel ficte suscipere cum ceteris recusavit. Cumque a regia potentia impeteretur fortiter, et subdi cogeretur propter virium propriarum insufficientiam, imploravit et facile impetravit auxilium Saladini, callide inter partes fovendo discordias vires frangere molientis Christianas.[2] Mox mense Maio a parte Tyberiadis, quam ipse tunc possidebat, immisit Turcorum copias finibus Christianis; qui congressi cum quadam parte militiæ Templi, facta nostrorum strage non modica,[3] onusti spoliis victores abiere. Verum non multo post idem comes simulatam, ut postea claruit, amicis mediantibus, cum rege pacem fecit; nam et ipse et fere universi terræ optimates ex multa indignatione occultum cum Saladino fœdus percusserant; cui etiam, ut dicitur, pacti fuerant quod regem Christianum in manus ejus traderent; quibus ipse vicissim pactus esse dicitur quod hoc facto non inquietaret eos, quominus liberam regni Ierosolymitani dispositionem haberent. Percusserant plane fœdus cum morte, et cum inferno fecerant pactum; per hoc putantes flagellum inundans, cum transiret per ceteros, super se non venturum. Verum consequentia docuerunt sacram illam in eis

Raymond of Tripoli seeks aid from Saladin against Guy.

Saladin invades the Christian territories. Defeat of the Templars (at Nazareth, 1 May).

[1] *eorum*, B.C.S.; *eodem*, L.

[2] The Count of Tripoli did what is *here* stated, but only as a temporary expedient. According to Michaud he acted loyally after the defeat at Nazareth.

[3] *modica*, C.L.S.; *parva*, B.

[4] *esse*, C.L.S.; *est*, B.

Isaias xxviii. 18, 19. egregie prophetiam impletam: "Delebitur fœdus vestrum cum morte, et pactum vestrum cum inferno non "stabit: flagellum inundans cum transierit eritis ei "in conculcationem, et sola vexatio dabit intel-"lectum." A.D. 1187.

Cap. XVII.

De prælio quo exercitus periit Christianus, et captus[2] *est*[3] *Rex cum Sancta Cruce.*

A.D. 1187.

Affairs of the Holy Land. Saladin besieges Tiberias.

Igitur Saladinus, cum lxxx^ta ut fertur millibus equitum et eo amplius, solito fiducialius fines Christianos ingressus, civitatem Tyberiadem mox irrupit, et munitionem castri, qua se domina loci cum militibus paucis receperat, oppugnavit.[4] Quibus rex cognitis, cum summa celeritate Christianum undecunque contraxit exercitum. Et quidem reges priores processuri ad prœlium, urbibus et castellis sufficientia munimina relinquebant, ne scilicet regnum ancipiti periculo exponerent, si ejus ossa medullis propriis, id est, urbes et castella necessariis præsidiis, vacuarent: inde est quod cum sæpius fuerint ab hostibus prœlio superati, nunquam tamen usque ad regni exterminium periclitati fuisse noscuntur. Rex autem ad Christiani regni excidium institutus a femina, ne ab[5] hoc tam grandi malo esset innocens femina, fortissimo præcepit edicto ut omnis populus quasi vir unus egrederetur ad prœlium, in tantum ut executores, a rege directi, cum sanis[6] ægros, tanquam ad absterrendum numero Sala-

Guy of Lusignan compels all the male population to flock to his standard, leaving no sufficient garrison in the cities.

[1] The author appears to quote from memory.

[2] *captus*, B.C.L.S.; *quomodo captus*, R.

[3] *est*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[4] Captured, except the citadel, on July 3.

[5] *ab*, B.C.S.; *ad*, L.

[6] B. has *sanos*.

A.D. 1187. dinum, exire compellerent. Itaque egressis omnibus ad victimam magis quam ad pugnam, cum pauci languidissimi cum mulieribus et parvulis in urbibus remanerent, ad unius prœlii eventum totum præclarum illud regnum Ierosolymitanum pendebat. Comes autem Tripolitanus, cum esset exercitui Christiano prævius, tanquam gnarus locorum duxit[1] eum, de industria, ut creditur, in locum saxosum tantasque angustias, ut mox periclitari inciperet. Cumque hostes ita coarctatis undique imminerent, de procerum consilio statuit rex quocunque modo erumpere, et prœlio cum hostibus decertare. Primis igitur ictibus militiæ Templi concessis, exercitum, prout oportuit, per turmas ad prælium ordinavit.[2] Templarii vero robustissimo in hostem impetu procurrentes, primarum hostilium turmarum condensitatem ruperunt, et earum vel stragem vel fugam fecerunt. Verum tunc demum nostrorum nefanda proditio et nefaria cum hoste collusio[3] claruit. Comes enim Tripolitanus ceterique optimates cum turmis suis, spreta dispositione regia, præclaram illam Templi militiam hostes fortiter proterentem, dum non sequerentur, periclitari fecere; atque ita Templarii consertissimis hostium cuneis, nullo sequente, immersi, illico vel victima vel præda fuere. Cumque exercitus noster in loco inaquoso æstu et siti deficeret, de castris[4] sex sceleratissimi milites ad Saladinum transfugerunt et, abjurata lege Christiana, nostrorum mysteria prodiderunt. Quibus agnitis, Saladinus nostros, quos locorum magis expugnabat malitia,[5] modis omnibus

He thus stakes all on the event of one battle.

Treachery of the count of Tripoli.

The battle of Hittin (July 3–5, 1187).

Cf. Epist. Januensium ad Urbanum, B. of Pet. ii. 11.

[1] *duxit*, C.L.S.; *dixit*, B.

[2] Newburgh (see next chapter) says "infra octavas beatorum Petri "et Pauli apostolorum."

[3] Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, ii. p. 330, says "Aucun historien "Mussulman ne partage cette "opinion." Ibn-Alatir states that Raymond opposed the march to Tiberias.

[4] *castris*, C.L.S.; *castris nostris*, B.

[5] *malitia*, B.S.; *militia*, C.L.R.; the reading of S. and B. seems preferable, as four lines above Newburgh speaks of the hot and waterless spot to which the army had been led. These conditions plainly constituted the *malitia locorum*.

censuit impetendos. Qui cum pæne usque ad internecionem[1] cæderentur, rex tandem fugam arripuit; quem Tokedinus, Saladini nepos, persequens, cum cruce ligni Dominici comprehendit. Cæsus est vel captivatus fere totus exercitus Christianus, paucis fuga elapsis. Milites Templi et Hospitalis, quos in campo non voraverat gladius, ab aliis segregatos captivis Saladinus coram se decollari præcepit, atque hac[2] exoptatissima voluptate proprios pavit aspectus. In Reginaldum quoque de Castellione, virum Christianissimum, et tam armorum gloria quam animi nobilitate celeberrimum, qui principatum olim Antiochenum strenue administravit,[3] et tunc finibus in Arabia Christianis egregie præsidebat, odium proprium tyrannus declaravit: quem scilicet ferocissime interrogatum, et constantissime, prout tantum decebat virum, respondentem, manu propria trucidavit,[4] voluptati suæ plurimum æstimans deperire si alius etiam coram se tam pretiosum effunderet sanguinem. Comes autem Tripolitanus cum suis compliicibus fugit e prœlio, Turcis eos, ut dicitur, nec attingere curantibus.[5]

A.D. 1187.

Defeat of the Christians and capture of the True Cross and of the king of Jerusalem. The Templars are massacred after the battle.

The count of Tripoli permitted to escape.

Cap. XVIII.

Quomodo Saladinus occuparit Terram Promissionis cum Sancta Civitate.

Cum igitur victor exercitus cædibus satiatus, post bellum ad prædam conversus, ingentia peremptæ vel captivatæ[6] multitudinis spolia diripuisset, tyrannus cruentissimus cum omnibus copiis florentissimam civitatem Tholomaidam, quæ nunc Acra dicitur adiit;

A.D. 1187.

Capture of Acre (July 9).

[1] *internecionem* (*internicionem*), B.C.S.; *interitionem*, L.

[2] *hac*, B.C.R.S.; om. L.

[3] *administravit*, L.S.; *administraverat*, B.; *administrabat*, C.

[4] In anger at his breach of truce.

[5] Michaud refers to Marin's *Histoire de Saladin* for a discussion of this doubtful point.

[6] B. has *captivitate*.

A.D. 1187. quam præsidiis, ut supradictum est, vacuatam, et frustra imbelli vel ætati vel sexui creditam, illico obtinens, nova ex cædium[1] satietate clementia inventam in ea[2] multitudinem illæsam abire permisit. Tunc conversus ad reliquas urbes et oppida, omne robur terræ Ierosolymitanæ, præter ipsam Sanctam Civitatem et[3] Tyrum et Ascalonam,[4] minimo et incruento negotio in potestatem redegit. Nam quoniam universa urbium et castellorum præsidia unius prœlii casus abraserat, in obtinendis præclaris et sola fame expugnabilibus[5] Christianorum munitionibus, nulla se fortunatissimo tyranno difficultas opposuit. Sanctam quoque Civitatem idem furoris divini malleus adiit. Patriarcham et populum metu languidum ad deditionem coegit,[6] vita et libertate indulta, ut titulo se clementiæ insigniret, armis et pecuniis nudatos dimisit. Civitatem pompatice ingressus, ecclesias[7] spoliatas profanavit, formam vexilli Dominici ludibrio habitam et fustigatam confregit; templum vero Domini, quod et ipsis Sarracenis[8] semper venerabile fuerat, sollemniter aqua rosea, tanquam a Christianis sordibus expians, sacrilegis ritibus dicavit.[9] Sepulchri vero Dominici aliquantulam reverentiam habuit, quod, omni quidem aureo vel argenteo ornatu sublato, Syros illius terræ indigenas Christianos custodire præcepit, edictum adjiciens, ne quis alienus irreverenter accederet. Debilium quoque in famosissimo illo Hospitali beati[10] Johannis decum-

Surrender of Jerusalem (Oct. 3).

Cf. Epist. frat. Terrici, Ben. Pet. ii. 41.

Saladin's moderation and humanity after the surrender.

[1] *ex cædium*, B.C.S.; *excidium*, L.

[2] *inventam in ea*, C.L.S.; *inventa in eam*, B.

[3] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] *Ascalonam*, C.L.S.; *Ascolonam*, B.

[5] *expugnabilibus*, B.L.S.; *inexpugnabilibus*, C.

[6] Newburgh gives the date of the surrender below as "circa solemnia "beati archangeli Michaelis,"—about 29th Sept.

[7] *ecclesias*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[8] *Sarrazenis*, L.

[9] It seems probable from the wording of these passages and also from the items of information that Newburgh had before him the letters of Terric the Templar as well as the *Itinerarium*.

[10] *beati*, B.C.L.S.; *sancti*, R.

bentium, sive humanitus sive pro gloria, misericordiam habuit, eorumque donec vel[1] morerentur vel convalescerent curam haberi voluit, quibusdam ex fratribus Hospitalariis hanc operam secure et libere exsequendam committens. Hæc Ierosolymis provenisse noscuntur, a diro illo prœlio quo populus Christianus interiit, tribus fere mensibus elapsis. Quippe infra octavas beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum factum est illud Christianæ plebis excidium, et circa sollemnia beati archangeli Michaelis facta est deditio Sanctæ Civitatis. Ascalona quoque urbs nobilis, in quam post prœlium, propter excellentem ejus firmitatem, multi confluxerant, et armorum sive victualium copiam frustra congesserant, potestatem tyrannicam non evasit: quam scilicet infelicissimus ille rex Ierosolymorum, qui captus in prœlio fuerat, pro sua liberatione resignavit.[2] Jamque sola urbium Palestinæ urbs insignis Tyrus dominationem aspernabatur hostilem, olim assueta summis resistere regibus. Nam, ut produnt historiæ, antiquum illum fortissimumque regem Nabugodonosor prius, et postea magnum illum Alexandrum, multo labore exercuit. Quæ nimirum ea facilitate qua urbes ceteræ in manus incidisset hostiles, nisi cœlestis quædam provisio intentioni tyrannicæ obviasset, juxta illud Ysaiæ: "Quomodo si inveniatur granum in botro, et dicatur, ne dissipes illud quoniam benedictio[3] est: sic faciam propter servos meos, ut non disperdam totum." Plane Dominus propter servos suos, ut scilicet Christianis in terram illam venturis aptum non deesset receptaculum, totum, licet[4] et hoc excrescentia temporis nostri peccata exigerent, dissipare vel disperdere noluit, sed urbem hanc, tanquam granum botri modicum, pro benedic-

A.D. 1187.

Ascalon is surrendered (4 Sept.) to purchase the liberty of Guy of Lusignan.

Tyre holds out.

Isaias, lxv. 8.

[1] *vel*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] Terms were arranged, but Guy was not released until May 1188.

[3] *benedictio*, C.L.S.; *benedictione*, B.

[4] *licet*, B.L.S.; *scilicet*, C.

A.D. 1187. tione non modica Christianis servavit. Modum autem quo servata est, Christo propitio, satis notum præsentibus, nostra propter posteros non debet narratio præterire.

Cap. XIX.

Quomodo Conradus Marchio munivit[1] *Tyrum, et de interitu Comitis Tripolitani.*

A.D. 1187.

The marquis of Montferrat approaches Acre by sea.

Marchio igitur de Monte-Ferrato, vir inter primos Romani imperii magnus et potens, Ierosolymam orandi studio venerat, terra possessionis propriæ filio Conrado commissa. Cumque ibidem pia devotione per dies[2] consisteret, et omnipotenti Deo in defensione Sanctæ Terræ propriis sumptibus sedulo[3] ministraret, in bello, quo eadem terra tradita est in manus impii, cum aliis nobilibus captus est ab Agarenis. Ipso tempore memoratus[4] junior marchio, et ipse oraturus patrique astiturus, cum agmine virorum fortium Ierosolymam properabat. Factum est autem die tertio post captam Tholomaidam, ubi naves Christianæ applicare consueverant, ut idem marchio cum suis appropians, ex alto pelago immutatam adverteret, et caute notaret faciem civitatis. Nam nec Christiana jam insignia, quæ mox abominatio hostilis abstulerat, ex templorum vel turrium fastigiis procul aspicientibus refulgebant, nec campanæ, uti mos fuerat peregrinis portui appropinquantibus,[5] concrepabant. Unde intellexit vir prudens eandem civitatem in manus incidisse hostiles. Flexo igitur cursu, Tyrum adiens ibidem applicuit;[6] invenitque omnes Tyrios mœstitudine at-

July 12.

The city appearing to be in the hands

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[1] B. has *munit*.

[2] Some word (? *multos*) is wanting.

[3] *sedulo*, B.L.S.; *sedule*, C.

[4] *memoratus*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[5] As in text, B.L.R.S.; *peregrinorum portui appropinquantium*, C.

[6] The events in the earlier part of this chapter precede, those in the latter part and in the next chapter succeed, the loss of Jerusalem.

que formidine ita attonitos, ut animis labefactis tyranno mox affuturo, exemplo Tholomensium, civitatem tradere cogitarent. Verum ad tanti hospitis ingressum, resumpto aliquantulum spiritu, cum ei miserabilem Christianorum cladem indicassent, ejus, tanquam ad tantillarum reliquiarum divinitus directi solatium, salubri se consilio crediderunt. Ille vero, cum esset prudens atque magnanimus, omnes a minimo usque ad maximum sacramento astrinxit quod ei omnium curam gerenti fideliter parerent in omnibus; sapienter allegans nihil agi posse nisi sub uno principe et provisore cuncti essent unanimes. Quo facto, civitatem cooperantibus omnibus sollicite muniebat.[1] Sequenti die comes Tripolitanus et Reginaldus Sidonius quasi causa refugii[2] vel tuendæ urbis advenientes, cum fuissent intra mœnia cum paucis admissi, et frustra vel sollicitare populum vel arcem præoccupare nitentur, mature deprehensi ægre effugerunt,[3] suorum aliquot in urbe relictis, quos zelus marchionis, tanquam Christiani nominis manifestos proditores, suspendio damnavit. Cum autem memoratus comes et complices sui viderent[4] Saladinum, rupta fide pactorum, Ierosolymitano regno incumbere, idque, expulsis indigenis, populo proprio dividere in possessionem, tunc demum vexatione dante intellectum, intelligere potuere fœdus, quod cum morte percusserant, judicio Dei deletum, et pactum quod cum inferno fecerant, eadem judicii severitate[5] non stare, seque flagello inundanti et transeunti juste fieri in conculcationem. Idem[6] ergo comes, seram agens pœnitentiam, ad urbem propriam est reversus; et, ex doloris vehementia in amentiam versus, horrenda morte defecit.[7] Complices

A.D. 1187.

of the Saracens he sails to Tyre.

He assumes command of the city, and puts it into a state of defence.

The count of Tripoli enters the city with treacherous designs, but is driven away.

Isaias, xxviii. 18, 19.

He dies insane,

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[1] *muniebat*, B.L.S.; *muniebant*, C.

[2] Fugitives from Hittin.

[3] *effugerunt*, B.L.S.; *fugerunt*, C.

[4] *viderent*, B.L.S.; *viderunt*, C.

[5] *severitate*, C.L.S.; *securitate*, B.

[6] *idem*, B.C.S.; *ideo*, L.

[7] This is disputed; but R. de Diceto (col. 640) agrees, saying he died 15 days after the fall of Jerusalem.

A.D. 1187. — and is succeeded by Bohemond (Raymond).

quoque ejus, ut dicitur, non[1] morbus aut senium, sed confusionis et doloris intolerantia, de terra quam prodiderant in brevi erasit. Cives autem Tripolitani matura propter dies malos deliberatione Boamundum Antiocheni[2] principis filium, laudatæ fortitudinis et prudentiæ juvenem, dominum sibi delegerunt: sub cujus regimine Tripolitana regio remissius noscitur infestata a Turcis. Dicitur enim et creditur[3] Saladinus, cum alias totis viribus debacchatus sit, Tripoli et finibus ejus pepercisse, propter jusjurandum quod fuerat inter ipsum et comitem Tripolitanum.

Cap. XX.

De obsidione Tyri, et reditu Regis de captione.

A.D. 1187-8. — Siege of Tyre. (Nov. 11? to Jan. 1, 1188).

Ierosolyma igitur ceterisque urbibus præter Tyrum celeri deditione receptis, Saladinus eandem urbem sub Conrado marchione fiducialiter agentem obsedit.[4] Quæ nimirum juxta fidem historiarum veterum olim insula, nunc autem Alexandri Magni arte simul et opere continens, tota fere mari[5] ambitur, portu gaudens tutissimo. Quapropter tyrannus, ne mare pervium esset obsessis, classe circa urbem disposita, modis eam omnibus, qua parte maris non prætendit obicem, studuit oppugnare. Marchio vero et sui, caventes ne forte Italicarum[6] navium, quibus a Sicilia et Apulia urbi subsidia inferebantur, interciperetur commeatus, præparatis opportune navibus quas in proprio portu habebant, navali prœlio statuerunt cum hostili classe confligere. Quod et factum est, Deo propitio

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[1] *non*, C.L.S.; *in*, B.

[2] Should be *Raymond* son of Bohemond III. of Antioch.

[3] *creditur*, B.C.S.; *crediturque* (?) L.

[4] This was the second attack. The first was shortly before the fall of Jerusalem. See *Itinerar.* i. 23: *rursus . . . expugnare contendit.*

[5] *mari*, B.C.; *mare*, L.S.

[6] *Ytaliorum*, B.

Cf. litt. frat. Terrici, Bened. Petrob. ii. p. 41.

A.D. 1187–8.

et cæsa vel submersa multitudine hostium naves nonnullas ceperunt; ceteri vero, spectante Saladino, naves, ut evaderent, littoribus alliserunt. Quo casu ita est consternatus, ut incensis machinis et soluta obsidione discederet, nihil ulterius contra eandem urbem ausurus. In fines mox Antiochenos debacchantem convertens tyrannidem, principem Christianum in tantum attenuavit atque infregit, ut capta Laodicea reliquisque urbibus juris ejus, raram illi possessionem extra muros Antiochenos relinqueret. Ipsam quoque maximam civitatem ita coarctavit, ut ab exterritis civibus[1] pactum extorqueret, quod ad diem certum urbem resignarent nisi forte major ex Europa exercitus superveniens id fieri prohiberet. Porro nostri apud Tyrum sub marchione prosperabantur et roborabantur indies, confluentibus ad eos plurimis ex[2] Christianis provinciis transmarinis. Rex quoque Siciliæ competens illis subsidium direxit. Unde factum est ut plerumque ad prædam longius excurrerent, rebusque fortiter et prospere gestis, onusti manubiis remearent. Et cum forte in præda captivus insignior marchioni obtigisset, eundem laudabili providentia patre[3] mutavit, qui, ut dictum est, captus in prœlio maximo infeliciter apud hostes vivebat. Rex vero Ierosolymorum, modo superius memorato de captivitate reversus, nostris impedimento magis quam solatio fuit.[4] Cum enim Tyrum, tanquam jus regium, a marchione reposceret, et marchio urbem, tanquam ab ipso, æque ut cetera, hostibus expositam, a se autem cum multo labore servatam, modis illi omnibus denegaret, secessit Tripolim, et aggregatis sibi plurimis, marchioni erat infestus. Illis itaque hoc modo dis-

Saladin's fleet is beaten (Dec. 29). He abandons the siege and invades the territory of Antioch.

The marquis of Montferrat obtains his father's liberty by exchange of prisoners.

Guy of Lusignan as king of Jerusalem claims Tyre, and being refused retires to Tripoli.

[1] B. has, for *exterritis civibus*, *exterritionibus*.

[2] *ex*, B.L.S.C.; om. R.

[3] *patre*, B.C.S.; *pro patre* by interlineation, L.

[4] Released in May 1188. Much of the information in this chapter comes from the *Itinerarium*, i. pp. 23–26, and 60–62

A.D. 1187–8. ceptantibus, et aliis quidem pro isto aliis vero pro illo æmulantibus, res Christianæ in Syria minus procedebant. In qua re advertere est quam subtili astutia Saladinus, immo in Saladino diabolus, eundem regem, qui totius ab initio turbinis[1] et cladis occasio fuerat, de captivitate emiserit, Christianis proculdubio sub specie recti profectibus opponendum. Quod cum in illa disceptatione[2] ex parte claruerit, in iis certe quæ consecuta noscuntur magis claruit.

Cap. XXI.

De morte Urbani Papæ, et institutione Gregorii.

A.D. 1187.

Death of pope Urban III. (Oct. 11). Accession of Gregory VIII. (Oct. 20).

Dum[3] in Oriente circa populum Christianum talia gererentur, Urbanus papa Romanus extremæ sorti subjacuit, et successit[4] ei venerabilis Albertus, ejusdem cancellarius,[5] dictusque[6] est Gregorius. Vir plane et sapientia et vitæ sinceritate conspicuus, æmulationem Dei habens in omnibus secundum scientiam, et superstitiosarum consuetudinum, quarum in ecclesia per quorundam rusticam simplicitatem citra[7] scripturarum auctoritatem multitudo inolevit, reprehensor acerrimus; unde a quibusdam minus discretis putatus est turbato per nimiam abstinentiam cerebro delirare. Sane cum in Oriente illud Christianæ plebis exterminium atque irruptio Sanctæ Civitatis sub pontificatu Urbani contigerint, eidem tamen datum est tantæ infelicitatis fama minime sauciari. Rerum
July 6. quippe infra octavas apostolorum Petri et Pauli infe-
Oct. 18. liciter gestarum nuntii circa festivitatem beati Lucæ evangelistæ ad Apostolicam sedem venerunt, Urbano

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[1] L. has *turbidis*.
[2] For *disceptatione* L. has the error *deceptatione*.
[3] *Dum*, B.L.R.S.; *Cum*, C.
[4] B. has *successi*.
[5] *ejusdem cancellarius*, C.L.R.S.; *ejusdem sedis cancellarius*, B.
[6] B. has *ductusque*.
[7] *citra*, B.C.S.; *circa*, L.

paulo ante ex hac luce subtracto, et mature substituto Gregorio. Qui venerabilis pontifex, tristi nuntio perculsus, ingemuit, et vi doloris anxius, tam enormem Christiani nominis jacturam inconsolabiliter deploravit. Aliquod tamen remedium adhibere, et tanto malo, ne latius serperet, pia provisione occurrere satagens, hanc illico in orbem Christianum direxit epistolam. A.D. 1187.

Epistola Gregorii Papæ.[1]

General epistle of pope Gregory VIII. as to the affairs of the Holy Land, Oct. 29, 1187.

"Gregorius,[2] servus servorum Dei, universis Christi fide-
" libus ad quos[3] literæ istæ pervenerint, salutem et Apo-
" stolicam benedictionem. Audita tremendi severitate judicii
" quam super terram Ierosolymitanam divina manus exercuit,
" tanto sumus nos et fratres nostri horrore confusi, tantis
" afflicti doloribus, ut non facile nobis occurreret quid dicere
" aut facere[4] deberemus, nisi quod Psalmista deplorat et dicit:
Ps. lxxviii. 1. " 'Deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam,' et cetera. Ex
" occasione quippe dissensionis, quæ suggestione diaboli facta
" est nuper in terra, accessit Saladinus cum multitudine
" armatorum ad partes illas, et occurrentibus rege et epi-
" scopis, Templariis[5] et Hospitalariis, baronibus et militi-
" bus cum populo terræ et cruce Dominica, per quam ex
" memoria et fide passionis Christi qui pependit, et genus
" humanum redemit in ea, certum sibi contra paganorum
" incursus solebat esse tutamen, facta est congressio inter
" eos, et, superata parte nostrorum, capta[6] est crux Domi-
" nica, trucidati episcopi, captus est rex, et universi fere
" aut occisi gladio aut hostilibus manibus deprehensi; ita
" ut paucissimi per fugam dicantur elapsi; ipsi quoque
" Templarii et Hospitalarii in ejusdem sunt[7] oculis decol-
Jerem. ix. 1. " lati. Nos autem, licet cum propheta dicere habeamus,
" 'Quis det oculis meis fontem lacrimarum, et plorabo die

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[1] *Epistola . . . Papæ*, C.L.S.; om. B. A somewhat compressed copy. See Benedict, ii. 15–19.

[2] *Gregorius*, C.L.S.; *Gregorius episcopus*, B.

[3] *quos*, B.C.S.; *quod*, L.

[4] *facere*, B.L.S.; *quid facere*, C.

[5] *Templariis*, C.S., and B., omitting the *et* which follows; *et Templariis*, L.

[6] *capta*, B.L.S.; *et capta*, C.

[7] *sunt*, C.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1187. " 'ac nocte interfectos populi mei?' non tamen adeo nos " dejicere[1] debemus, ut in diffidentiam[2] decidamus et cre- " damus Deum ita populo suo iratum ut quod, commu- " nium[3] faciente multitudine peccatorum, fieri permisit " iratus, non cito per misericordiam, pœnitentia placatus, " allevet, et post lacrimationem, exsultationem inducat. " Quisquis sane in tanta[4] lugendi materia non luget, non " tantum fidei Christianæ sed ipsius etiam humanitatis " videtur oblitus; cum ex ipsa periculi magnitudine ac " feritate barbarica Christianorum sanguinem sitiente, ac " totam suam in hoc apponente[5] virtutem, ut profanet[6] " sancta et cultum Dei auferat de terra, quod nos tace- " mus, discretus quisque valeat æstimare. Sane cum pro- " phetæ prius, ac postmodum Apostoli laboraverint,[7] ut " divinus cultus esset in terra illa, et ad omnia climata " mundi ex ea deflueret;[8] immo, quod maximum et inef- " fabile est, Deus, qui ibi voluit salutem operari, per se- " ipsum ad hoc dignatus sit laborare, nec lingua dicere " nec sensus cogitare potest quantum nobis et universo " populo Christiano dolendum sit, quod nunc id[9] perpessa " est terra illa, quod sub veteri populo legitur pertulisse. " Nos autem credere non debemus quod ex injustitia feri- " entis judicis, sed iniquitate[10] potius populi delinquentis, " ista provenerint.[11] Terra illa devoravit habitatores suos, " et nec diu habere quietum statum, nec transgressores " legis divinæ potuit retinere. Porro nos in tanta contri- " tione terræ illius, non solum peccatum habitatorum ejus " sed et nostrum et totius populi Christiani debemus atten- " dere, ac vereri ne quod reliquum est terræ illius deperеat, " et in alias etiam potestas[12] infidelium desæviat regiones; cum " ex omnibus partibus inter reges et principes, civitates et " civitates, dissensiones audiamus et[13] scandala, et cum pro-

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[1] B. has *decere*.

[2] *diffidentia*, B.

[3] *communivit*, C.

[4] *in tanta*, A.B.; *tanti*, C.L.O.S.

[5] *apponente*, B.C.L.S.; *ponente*, R.

[6] *prophanare*, B.C.L.O.B.S.: but this requires *valeant auferre de terra* in the next line, as in Benedict.

[7] *laboraverint*, C.L.S.; *laboraverunt*, B.

[8] C. has *defluerent*.

[9] *id*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[10] *iniquitate*, B.L.S.; *ex iniquitate*, C.

[11] *provenerint*, B.C.L.S.; *provenerunt*, R.

[12] *potestas*, B.L.S.; *potestates*, C.

[13] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

"pheta dicere valeamus: 'Non est veritas, non est scientia A.D. 1187.
Osee, iv. 1, 2. "'Dei in terra: furtum et mendacium, homicidium et adul-
"'terium inundaverunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.' Co-
"gitate itaque filii, qualiter transeant universa, et pariter
"transeatis et vos: et date vestra, date quoque vos ipsos,
"non in exterminium sed in conservationem[1] Ei a quo et
"vos[2] et vestra omnia recepistis;[3] nec dicimus dimittite, sed
"præmittite in cœleste horreum quæ[4] habetis; et reponite
Matt. vi. 20. "apud Eum apud quem ærugo non demolitur aut tinea,
"nec fures effodiunt aut furantur; laborantes ad recupera-
"tionem terræ illius, in qua pro salute nostra Veritas de
"terra orta est, et sustinere pro nobis crucis patibulum non
"despexit. Et exemplo vestro alios exhortamini, ut ad
"ponendas pro fratribus animas confortentur, et a vobis
"addiscant qualiter in obsequium Creatoris sui et personas
"et substantias suas impendant, recolentes non esse novum
"quod terra illa judicio divino[5] percutitur; sed nec esse
"insolitum, ut flagellata et castigata misericordiam conse-
"quatur. Poterat quidem Dominus sola eam voluntate ser-
"vare, sed non habemus Ei dicere cur ita fecerit. Voluit
"enim forsitan experiri, et in notitiam ducere aliorum, si
"aliquis sit intelligens aut requirens Deum, qui oblatum
"sibi tempus pœnitentiæ hilariter amplectatur, et animam
"ponendo pro fratribus, consummetur in brevi et compleat
"tempora multa. Eis autem qui corde[6] contrito et humi-
"liato spiritu laborem itineris hujus assumpserint, et in
"pœnitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam
"suorum criminum indulgentiam et vitam pollicemur æter-
"nam. Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de
"omnibus peccatis suis de quibus rectam confessionem fece-
"rint, impositæ satisfactionis relaxationem de omnipotentis
"Dei misericordia, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate
"et nostra, se noverint habituros. Bona quoque, ex[7] quo[8]
"crucem acceperint, cum suis famulis sub sanctæ Romanæ
"ecclesiæ necnon et archiepiscoporum, episcoporum,[9] atque

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[1] *sed in conservationem*, C.S.; *sed in conversationem*, B.; om. L.

[2] *vos*, C.L.S.; *vos ipsos*, B.

[3] *et vestra omnia recepistis*, B.R.S.; *et ista omnia accepistis*, C.; *vestra omnia recepistis*, L.

[4] *quæ*, B.C.S.; *quod*, L.

[5] *divino*, B.L.S.; *Dei*, C.

[6] C. is probably intended to read *corde*.

[7] *ex*, C.L.R.S.; *ipsorum ex*, B.

[8] *quo*, C.L.S.; *qua*, B.

[9] *episcoporum*, B.C.S.; om. L

A.D. 1187. "aliorum prælatorum ecclesiæ protectione consistant; et "nullam de iis quæ in susceptione crucis[1] quiete possederunt, donec de ipsorum[2] reditu vel obitu certissime cognoscatur, sustineant[3] quæstionem; sed bona eorum integra "interim maneant[4] et quieta. Ad dandas quoque usuras, "si tenentur alicui, reddere non cogantur. Nec eant in "vestibus pretiosis et cum canibus sive avibus aut aliis quæ "ostentationi potius et lasciviæ quam necessariis videantur "usibus deservire, sed modesto apparatu et habitu, in quo "pœnitentiam potius agere quam inanem affectare gloriam "videantur. Data Ferentinæ[5] iiii^to Calendas Novembris."

Cap. XXII.

De transitu Gregorii Papæ.

A.D. 1187.

Pope Gregory in view of the projected crusade arranges a peace between Genoa and Pisa.

Hac[6] igitur epistola in orbem directa, idem reverendus pontifex piæ sollicitudinis instinctu Pisas contendit, Pisanos et Januenses, jugi et inveterata discordia dissidentes, Deo auctore reconciliaturus, vel ferales illas inimicitias protensioribus saltem induciis suspensurus; ut, sublatis vel ad tempus sepositis[7] studiis partium, uterque populus, quorum et opes amplissimæ et vires erant terra marique[8] ingentes, in Christianæ expeditionis communiter accingeretur negotium. Pisas ergo ingressus, primos Januensium evocavit, et secundum datam sibi sapientiam, cooperante pontificali reverentia, feroces hinc inde animos sedare curavit. Cumque per religiosam ejus operam opus pacis procederet, jamque arripiendi melioris propositi meditatione inveteratæ illæ ferocium populo-

[1] *crucis,* C.L.S.; *sanctæ crucis,* B.

[2] L. has *epõrum* (*episcoporum*).

[3] *sustineant,* C.L.S.; *et sustineant,* B.

[4] *maneant,* B.L.S.; *permaneant,* C

[5] At *Ferrara,* see Jaffé, Regesta Pontif. The *æ* also is wrong.

[6] *Hac,* C.L.S.; *hanc,* B.

[7] *sepositis,* B.S.; *repositis,* C.; *suppositis,* L.

[8] *terraque marique,* in B.

rum languescerent simultates, febre correptus, post dies paucissimos apud Pisas valedixit huic mundo, bonis pastoribus, ut de tali viro credi fas est, sociandus in cœlo. Cui successit Clemens, ibidem electus et inthronizatus, qui jacta pacis semina pio studio fovit et ad fructum perduxit.

A.D. 1187.

He dies at Pisa (Dec. 17).

Accession of Clement III. (Dec. 19).

Cap. XXIII.

Quomodo Reges crucem acceperunt cum nobilibus plurimis.[1]

A.D. 1187.

The effects of the bad news from the East upon the Christian world.

Prince Richard takes the cross without consulting his father.

Sane tristis ille rumor rerum in Oriente male gestarum orbem in brevi[2] pervagatus, omnium quidem Christianorum cordibus stuporem et horrorem invexit. Multorum autem id ipsum tanquam præclara quædam exercendæ virtutis occasio ad æmulandum[3] animos erexit; e quibus Ricardus comes Pictavensis, regis Anglorum filius et successor futurus, nuntium forte hujuscemodi inclinato jam die accipiens, absque ulla deliberatione laudabile propositum toto mox pectore combibit; et summo ut dicitur mane, in argumentum futuræ peregrinationis et expeditionis, characterem dominicum sollemniter accepit. Quo audito pater siluit usque ad filii adventum.[4] Et cum adesset post dies aliquot, "Me," inquit, "inconsulto "rem tam arduam arripere minime debuisti; pio "tamen proposito tuo nequaquam[5] adversabor, sed "ita illud prosequar ut a te egregie impleatur." Erat autem tempus hiemale, et nullus adhuc magnorum principum signum Domini acceperat; sed omnes circa hoc ancipites fluctuabant, cum tamen ad[6]

[1] *cum . . . plurimis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[2] *in brevi*, B.C.L.S.; om. R.

[3] B. has *æmulandam.*

[4] *usque . . . adventum*, C.L.S.; *quousque adventum filii*, B.

[5] *nequaquam*, C.L.S.; *nequam*, B.

[6] Hearne's emendation is *adhuc.*

A.D. 1188.

The archbishop of Tyre comes to Europe to solicit aid (Jan.).

hoc divini timoris stimulos assidue paterentur. Tandem vero archiepiscopus Tyrius a partibus veniens Orientis et duriora nuntians, tam præsentes quam etiam imminentes Orientalis ecclesiæ miserias ita in auribus publicis deploravit, ut duo magni reges Francorum et Anglorum tractandi gratia quidnam facerent terræ Ierosolymitanæ ab hostibus liberandæ, ad sollemne colloquium in terrarum confiniis cum episcopis et procerum suorum frequentia convenirent. Et quidem paulo ante, uti[1] superius expositum est, hostiliter discordaverant, nec finierant inimicitias sed induciis ad tempus suspenderant; verum in illo colloquio dum religiosa intentione non sua sed quæ Christi sunt quærerent, nulla vel admodum languida pristini rancoris irrepsit memoria, sed omni propter Christum simultate et quæstione ita consopita ut sepultam crederes,[2] paribus votis et studiis Christiano negotio intenderunt.[3] Itaque in multo devotionis fervore surgentes, signum Regis regum in ejus mox militiam accingendi per manum memorati archiepiscopi acceperunt, et non tantum sua, sed etiam seipsos eidem præclaræ[4] militiæ devoverunt. Quorum exemplum dux Burgundiæ, comes Flandriæ,[5] et[6] comes Campaniæ, cum aliis compluribus utriusque regni nobilibus atque ingenti virorum militarium numero, hilari devotione amplexi, ipsi quoque signo Domini proprios insignire humeros, seque pro Ipso laboribus periculisque exponere gloriosum duxerunt. Statuto mox tempore quo iter arriperent, ad necessariam provisionem et præparationem tanti itineris atque negotii de communi consilio ista sanxerunt, et redacta in scriptis episcoporum per omnes utriusque regni provincias direxerunt.

Henry and Philip Augustus take the cross (13–21 Jan.).

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[1] *uti*, C.L.S.; *ut*, B.
[2] C. has *credens*.
[3] *intenderent*, by correction, C.
[4] *præclaræ*, B.C.L.S.; *daræ*, R.
[5] *Flanndriæ*, in B.
[6] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

Statuta regum in susceptione crucis.

"Ad audientiam Romanæ ecclesiæ totiusque Christianitatis pervenit rumor ille miserabilis de destructione terræ Ierosolymitanæ et captione Dominicæ crucis. Unde dominus papa et ecclesia Romana volens huic miseriæ subvenire, optimum remedium omnibus qui crucem acceperint de consueta sedis Apostolicæ clementia ordinavit; videlicet quod a die qua quislibet crucem acceperit, totius pœnæ sibi injunctæ habebit de peccatis suis de quibus pœnitens fuerit et confessus, et similiter de[1] oblitis, relaxationem.[2]

A.D. 1188.

Statutes for regulation of the crusading armies.

"Ordinante igitur providentia Dei, domini reges Francorum et Anglorum cum immensa multitudine archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, baronum utriusque terræ, crucem Domini susceperunt: et de communi consilio statutum est quod unusquisque, tam clericus quam laicus, decimam omnium redditnum suorum unius anni et mobilium suorum, quæ nunc possidet, excepto blado istius anni, dabit ad subventionem terræ Ierosolymitanæ; et de blado futuri anni dabit similiter decimam. Excipiuntur libri et vestimenta, et vestes et tota capella[3] clericorum et equitaturæ eorum, et ornamenta ecclesiarum, et[4] similiter vestes et equi et arma[5] militum. et lapides pretiosi utrorumque. Quicunque autem clericus aut laicus crucem acceperit, nihil dabit; et de hominibus terræ suæ decimam habebit, exceptis burgensibus et rusticis, nisi assensu dominorum suorum crucem acceperint. Omnibus ergo hanc decimam legitime reddentibus de misericordia Dei confisi, medietatem pœnæ sibi injunctæ condonamus, remissionem nihilominus facientes et de decimis hucusque non legitime datis et de peccatis oblitis. Si autem de aliquo dubium fuerit, quod legitimam decimam non dederit, per septem legales homines de vineto ejus veritas inquiretur, et hæc[6] legitime fieri sub anathematis vinculo præcipietur.

The Saladin tithe to be paid by all except those who have taken the cross.

"Statutum est etiam a dominis regibus, et ab[7] archiepiscopis et[8] episcopis et omnibus baronibus concessum, ut quicunque clericus vel[9] laicus crucem acceperit, si redditus

Statute in relief of crusaders who are in debt, &c.

[1] *de*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *relaxationem*, O.R.; not in B.C. L. or S.

[3] *capella*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[4] *et*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[5] *arma*, B.C.L.S.; *armatura*, R.

[6] *hæc*, B.L.S.; *hoc*, C.

[7] *ab*, B.L.S.; om. C.

[8] *et*, C.L.S.; om. B.

[9] *vel*, C.L.S.; *aut*, B.

A.D. 1188. "suos ante[1] invadiaverat,[2] exitus hujus anni integre habeat; "et transacto anno creditor redditus[3] rehabeat, ita quod "fructus, quos inde perceperit, in solutionem debiti compu-"tentur; usuris non currentibus super debitis ante crucem "contractis, quamdiu debitor in peregrinatione erit. Omnes "etiam tam clerici quam laici, qui in hac peregrinatione "proficiscentur, licite poterunt invadiare redditus suos, sive "ecclesiasticos sive alios, usque ad tres annos: ita quod "creditores, quicquid de debitoribus contingat, inde securi "erunt. Sed et omnium eorum qui in hac peregrinatione "decesserint, pecunia sua, quam[4] secum attulerant, ad sus-"tentationem servientium[5] suorum, et auxilium terræ Iero-"solymitanæ, et ad sustentationem pauperum, juxta consilium "discretorum virorum, qui ad hoc statuentur, dividetur.

Prohibition of swearing, dicing, luxury in dress, &c.

"Statutum est etiam ut nullus enormiter juret; et quod "nullus ad aleas vel ad decios ludat; et quod nullus vario, "vel grisio, vel sabellinis,[6] vel escarletis utatur; et quod "omnes tam clerici quam laici duobus ferculis ex empto "sint[7] contenti; et quod nullus aliquam mulierem secum "in peregrinatione ducat, nisi[8] lotricem peditem, de qua "nulla[9] suspicio habeatur; et quod nullus habeat pannos "decisos vel laceatos."

Cap. XXIV.

De exactione[10] decimarum, et quomodo Imperator cum suis[11] crucem accepit.

A.D. 1188.

The kings separate

Soluto ergo cœtu in quo reges, sumpto charactere Dominico, de assensu omnium qui aderant episcoporum atque nobilium ista[12] decreverunt, illustris rex An-

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1 *ante*, C.L.S.; om. B.

2 *invadiaverat*, B.C.L.S.; *invadiaverit*, R.

3 *creditor redditus*, B L.R.S.; *creditor ejus*, C.

4 *quam*, C.L.S.; *qua*, B.

5 *servientium*, B.C.S.; *pauperum servientium*, L.

6 C. has *sabellum*.

7 *sicut* in B. originally.

8 *nisi*, C.L.S.; *nec*, B.

9 B. has *nullo*.

10 *exactione*, B.L.S.; *exactionibus*, C.

11 *cum suis*, C.L.S.; om. B.

12 *ista*, B.C.L.S.; *ita*, R.

glorum in proprium sub celeritate regnum transvectus,[1] celebrem loco opportuno conventum instituit; et ea quæ in partibus placuerant transmarinis, præsulum et procerum Angliæ favore promptissimo, roboravit. Tunc archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, episcopi Dunelmensis et Norwicensis, multique nobiles regni, regio accensi exemplo, signum sacrum sollemniter susceperunt; plures quidem mera devotione, quidam vero minus sincere, id est, vel regia jussione, vel ut se principi propensius commendarent, jussionem ejus præveniendam arbitrantes. Necnon et multitudo copiosa clericorum et militum, burgensium et rusticorum, regis et nobilium in cunctis Angliæ finibus sequi curavit exemplum, cum et in provinciis eadem fierent Gallicanis. Exigebantur autem decimæ juxta formam præscriptam, tantæque peregrinationi sumptus necessarii studio pervigili præparabantur.

A.D. 1188. — to prepare for the crusade. Council of Geddington (Feb. 11).

Fredericus quoque imperator Romanus[2] non diu passus est memoratis regibus in hac parte vel indevotior vel segnior inveniri. Convocatis itaque primis imperii, ingentis animi propositum declaravit: ornansque sollemniter signo Dominicæ humilitatis imperialis apicem majestatis, subditis ducibus et gentibus formam efficacissimam præbuit. Tantus enim repente ad suscipiendam pro Christo peregrinationem periculosissimam[3] in magnis ducibus et ferocissimis Germaniæ populis fidei et devotionis fervor incanduit, ut dicere fas esset, digitus Dei est hoc. Itaque fere cunctæ nominis Christiani provinciæ ad maturandum iter propositum immensis apparatibus studiisque[4] fervebant.

The Emperor Frederick I. takes the cross.

Exod. viii. 19.

[1] B. by 15th cent. alteration reads *transmeans*.

[2] *Romanus*, B.C.S.; *id inanius* by alteration from *manus*, L.

[3] *periculosissimam*, B.C.L.S.; *periculosam*, R.

[4] *studiisque*, B.L.S.; *studiis*, C.

Cap. XXV.

De rupto fœdere a Rege Francorum, et consecuta morte Regis Anglorum.

A.D. 1188.

Sudden rupture of relations with France.

Verum ita fervente fidelium devotione principum et populorum, antiqui hostis tam[1] bona initia corrumpere gestientis malitia non quievit. Cum enim illustris rex Anglorum in regno proprio quietus consisteret, et, prout tantum decebat principem, ad futuram expeditionem modis se omnibus præpararet; rex Francorum, nescio unde stimulatus,[2] rupta fide fœderis sollemniter inter ipsos sanciti usque ad reditum utriusque a partibus Orientis, et nulla signi Dominici, quod socialiter susceperant, reverentia habita, subito furore excanduit, et castrum nobile quod Radulfi dicitur, eratque possessio regis Anglorum, quorundam, ut dicitur, nequissimorum proditione improvisus[3] usurpator intravit. Quo successu elatus, mutato vel potius exsufflato expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ proposito, grandiora moliebatur. Quibus celeriter agnitis, rex Anglorum, suscepti pii propositi gratia, mitius agere studuit, et mature transfretaturus, viros honoratos cum verbis pacificis ad prævaricatorem præmisit. Verum[4] ille ad omne blandimentum inflexus et rigidus, effrenatiore superbia pestilentibus cœptis incubuit. Cumque rex Anglorum transfretasset, bonorum studio virorum ad colloquium sollemniter convenerunt:[5] rex quidem Anglorum querelam rupti fœderis et illatæ sibi injuriæ positurus, rex vero Francorum tanquam de his rationem redditurus. At[6] sub hac quasi fiducia rectitudinis mysterium operabatur inquitatis, uti ex eo

Philip Augustus enters Château-Roux (June 16).

Henry crosses to France (11 July).

Fruitless meeting of the two kings at Bous-Moulins.

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[1] *tam*, C.L.S.; *cum*, B.

[2] See Bened. Petr., ii. 34. The count of Toulouse in revenge for a small offence from Richard maltreated some Poictevin merchants.

[3] B. has *ipsius*.

[4] *Verum*, B.L.S.; *vere*, C.

[5] The meeting at Gisors, 16 Aug., Henry's invasion towards Mantes, and the meetings at Gisors and Châtillon (Oct. 7) are omitted.

[6] *at*, B.L.S.; *ac*, C.

quod consecutum est dedit intelligi. Ricardus enim Pictavensis tunc comes, regis Anglorum filius, qui signum Domini, ut supradictum est, primus acceperat, Francorum, ut creditur,[1] astutia abstractus atque illectus, in ipso sollemni regum colloquio a patre deficiens, ad partes transivit hostiles. Quo casu consternatus pater, cum causæ malorum ingravescerent, verbis pacificis cum iis qui oderunt pacem aere inaniter[2] verberato discessit, nesciens penitus cui se crederet cum tam infilialem jam filium expertus esset.[3]

A.D. 1188.

Richard deserts to Philip during the colloquy. (Nov. 18).

Illico bellum utrimque instruitur sed viribus animisque disparibus: idem enim Ricardus, quem pater ducatui Aquitanico præfecerat, parentem sibi militiam ad partes regis Francorum traduxit; plurimi quoque potentum Normanniæ et Andegaviæ, sive Britanniæ, fide exsufflata, manifeste jam a patre deficientes ad filium, in ejus gratiam Francorum auxerunt exercitum. Unde factum est, ut regi Anglorum præter stipendiarios parcior assisteret numerus, et ipse quoque circa eum nutabundus. Itaque rex Francorum cum comite Pictavensi et infinitis copiis terram regis Anglorum nullo obsistente ingressus, ad urbem Cinomannensem, ubi idem rex cum suo exercitu morabatur, pertendit. Quo ille cognito, cum et instructu copiarum ad subeundum belli discrimen se longe imparem cerneret, et obsideri ab hostibus formidaret, incensa urbe et multa supellectile abjecta, profugit, et ipse quidem in tutiora se loca recepit: porro exercitus, qui eum sequi videbatur, defluxit. Tunc Johannes filiorum ejus minimus, quem tenerrime diligebat, recessit ab eo, ne

A.D. 1189.

Philip and Richard invade Henry's domains (after Jan. 13).

The king is deserted by most of his barons.

The king retreating from Le Mans the city is occupied by the French (June 12 1189).

Prince John turns traitor.

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[1] *creditur*, B.L.S.; *credatur*, C.

[2] *pacem aere inaniter*, C.L.S.; *acre*, B.

[3] There were secretly diverse aims. Richard sought the barons' homage as heir, but only used Alais as a claim to Philip's help (Bened. ii. 50 and 160). There had been a truce up to Jan. 13, and Diceto has *two* meetings *post Pascha* at la Ferté Bernard, where John was required to take the cross. Henry there, on June 4, (Hoveden) unmasked by offering to wed John to Alais and declare him his successor (Gervase i. 447).

A.D. 1189. fratribus dissimilis et minus frater videretur. Hostes autem urbe Cinomanuensi cum arce potiti, urbem quoque Turonicam cum arce ejus, procurrente impetu expugnarunt; de obsidenda quoque urbe Andegavensi consequenter tractantes. Tot malis rex Anglorum anxius, et maxime ex junioris filii defectione animo[1] saucius, quem dum speciali amplecteretur affectu,[2] ejusque immoderatius promotioni intenderet,[3] seniorem filium irritasse videbatur, vexatione dante intellectum, manum Domini contra se attendit extentam, eoque auctore ad castigationem malorum quæ fecerat tantam rerum mutationem repente circa se factam. Denique ex multa mœstitudine febrem accersivit; qua invalescente, post dies aliquot apud Chinonem vitam finivit.[4] Hunc finem habuit inclitus ille rex Henricus, inter reges orbis terrarum nominatissimus, et nulli eorum vel[5] amplitudine opum, vel felicitate successuum paulo ante secundus. Hostes vero, audito ejus incommodo, mitius agere cœperunt; et maturatis induciis bellum suspenderant, cum ecce clarissimi olim sideris occasus nuntiatur. Turbatus nuntio comes Pictavensis ingemuit, et ad expiandum quod viventi patri minus officiosus exstiterat, in officio paterni funeris vel sero se filium comprobavit. Hostes quoque,[6] qui excellenti gloriæ ejus et virtuti semper inviderant, exstinctum lamentasse et laudasse dicuntur; omniumque[7] sensibus expositum erat, quanta sit vanitas atque fallacia excellentiæ temporalis, cum illum, qui tantus paulo ante in orbe refulserat, tam miserabilis subito casus absumpsisset. Corpus ejus, prout ipse in extremis pia devotione dictaverat, ad illud famosum et nobile monasterium feminarum quod Fons-Ebraudi dicitur de-

Tours assaulted and captured (July 3).

Isaias, xxviii. 19.

King Henry dies at Chinon (July 6).

His death followed the arrangement of terms (July 4?).

[1] *animo*, B.C.S.; *animæ*, L.

[2] *affectu*, C.L.S.; *effectu*, B.

[3] Newburgh seems here to confirm Gervase and Hoveden.

[4] Giraldus, perhaps the best authority as to these events, seems (*De Instr. Princip.*, iii. 25) to place the treaty on Saturday, July 1, at Azay.

[5] *vel*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[6] *quoque*, B.C.S.; *vero*, L.

[7] *omniumque*, C.L.S.; *omnium*, B.

portatum, ibidem, præsentibus filiis, atque assistente nobilium multitudine, juxta magnificentiam regiam sepultum est. Idem [1] namque monasterium, celeberrimæ religionis titulo inclitum, specialiter vivus coluerat, et tantis prævenerat beneficiis ut in eo potissimum juxta meritum votumque proprium corpori suo locum requietionis sub exspectatione finalis resurrectionis deberet accipere.

A.D. 1189.

He is buried at Fontevraud.

Silendum vero non arbitror quod a quodam venerabili viro audisse me memini asserente se id ipsum accepisse a quodam religioso ejusdem monasterii fratre ita narrante. Quædam nostræ congregationis persona laudabilis abundantiorem regi Anglorum, tanquam præcipuo monasterii nostri patrono, affectum impendens, pro ejus salute omnipotenti Domino [2] propensius supplicabat: cumque desideraret nosse quæ, vel de misericordia vel de judicio Superni Moderatoris, eidem essent regi eventura, ante tempus quo reges signum Dominicum susceperunt, tale a Domino de rege dilecto in somnis responsum accepit. "Signum meum super "se levabit, sed in tormento tormentum portabit; "nam [3] uterus uxoris suæ contra eum intumescet, et "ad ultimum cum velatis velabitur." [4] Hujus nimirum responsi veritas declarata est in ejusdem principis devotione qua Dominicum sibi signum imposuit, et in iis quæ hanc ejus devotionem consecuta sunt, usque ad ejus inter velatas, prout superior narratio patefecit, sepulturam.

Dream of an Augustinian canon as to the king before he took the cross.

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[1] B. originally read *id est.*
[2] *Domino*, B.R.S.; *Deo*, C.L.
[3] *nam*, B.L.S.; *jam*, C.R.
[4] This story is also narrated by Benedict (ii. p. 55), and Giraldus, *De Instr. Princip.*, iii. 9.

Cap. XXVI.

De moribus regis Henrici.

A.D. 1154–89.

Character of king Henry II.

His conjugal infidelities.

Sane idem rex et[1] pluribus quæ personam ornarent regiam fuisse noscitur virtutibus præditus, et quibusdam nihilominus vitiis obnoxius quæ Christianum principem plurimum dedecerent. In libidinem pronior, conjugalem modum excessit, formam quidem in hoc tenens avitam; sed tamen avo hujus intemperantiæ palmam reliquit. Regina pro tempore sufficienter usus ad sobolem, ea[2] desinente parere, sectando voluptatem spurios fecit. Venationis delicias æque ut avus plus justo diligens, in puniendis tamen positarum pro feris legum transgressoribus avo mitior fuit. Ille enim, ut suo loco dictum est, homicidarum et fericidarum in publicis animadversionibus nullam vel parvam esse distantiam voluit. Hic autem hujusmodi transgressores carcerali custodia sive exsilio ad tempus coercuit. Gentem perfidam et Christianis inimicam, Judaeos scilicet fœnerantes, propter largiora quæ ex eorum percipiebat fœnerationibus commoda, plus justo fovit: in tantum ut in Christianos protervi et cervicosi exsisterent, plurimaque eis gravamina irrogarent. In exquirendis pecuniis paulo immoderatior fuit: sed temporis sequentis supra modum excrescens malitia[3] justificavit eum in hac parte, et decentem modum ab eo innuit esse servatum;[4] excepto eo, quod vacantes episcopatus, ut provenientia perciperet commoda, diu vacare voluit, et ecclesiasticis potius usibus applicanda[5] in fiscum redegit. Hoc tamen opus minus regium tali excusatione, ut dicitur, tueri nitebatur, "Nonne "melius est ut pecuniæ istæ impendantur necessariis "regni negotiis, quam in episcoporum absumantur

He was severe in his administration of the forest laws, though milder than Henry I.

Undue favour shown by him to the Jews.

His fiscal exactions not on the whole excessive.

Confiscation of revenues of vacant sees.

[1] *et*, B.L.S.; *in*, C.
[2] B. has *in* in place of *ea*.
[3] *malitia*, B.L.S.; *militia*, C.
[4] C. has *servatam*.
[5] B. has an imperfect word *applica*.

"deliciis? nostri enim temporis præsules veterum in "se formam minime exprimunt, sed circa officium "remissi et languidi, totis mundum brachiis amplec-"tuntur." Hæc dicens, infamem quidem notam nostris præsulibus inurebat, ad sui vero defensionem inanem ratiunculam texebat. Sane in ecclesiam Lincolniensem, quæ ob ampliora commoda vacasse diutius noscitur, gravius deliquit; veruntamen ante sui obitus annos aliquot ad[1] hoc ipsum expiandum delictum, eidem ecclesiæ religiosi pastoris sollicitudinem studuit providere.

A.D. 1154–89.

His saying as to the bishops of his time.

Clarissimos ex Alianore regina filios habuit: sed, ut digesta superius relatio declaravit, in filiis clarissimis infelicissimus ipse[2] pater fuit. Quod utique Dei judicio ex duplicis causæ merito creditur accidisse.[3] Eadem quippe regina regi Francorum olim conjuncta, cum ejusdem pertæsa copulæ ad illius nuptias aspiraret, causas quæsivit divortii: solutamque a lege prioris viri, in facie ecclesiæ, quadam, ut ita dicam, illicita licentia, ille mox suo accivit conjugio. Unde factum est, Deo subtiliter cuncta librante, ut ex ea in propriam perniciem præclaram sobolem procrearet. Justum quoque erat, ut qui filios nimis tenere diligens pluribus nocuisse noscitur, dum filiorum plus justo promotioni intenderet, eorum vel improbis motibus vel immaturis mortibus vapularet. Hoc autem totum accidisse manifestum est, superni utique examinis ordinatione pulcherrima. Porro quia nondum, ut credo, satis defleverat illius infelicissimæ obstinationis rigorem, quem adversus venerabilem archiepiscopum Thomam habuerat, tanti principis tam miserabilem fuisse exitum arbitror, ut dum ei Dominus in hac vita pia severitate non parceret, in alia illi vita, sicut pium est credere, misericordiam præpararet.

Shameful circumstances of his marriage, and his unhappy relations with his sons.

The author traces some of the king's misfortunes to incomplete repentance of his conduct to Becket.

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[1] *ad*, C.L.S.; *ab*, B.
[2] *ipse*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[3] Henry's misbehaviour with Alais is not referred to. See Giraldus, *De Inst. Princip.*, 91, Ric. Divis., 26, and Benedict, ii. 160.

A.D. 1154–89.

The king's love of peace and justice.

Fuit enim in illo regni fastigio tuendæ et fovendæ pacis publicæ[1] studiosissimus: in[2] portando gladio ad vindictam malefactorum, quietem vero bonorum, minister Dei multum idoneus: rerum et libertatum ecclesiasticarum, sicut post mortem ejus claruit, defensor et conservator præcipuus.

His care for the poor and defenceless.

Pupillorum, viduarum, pauperum, in suis præceptationibus multam curam habuit, et locis pluribus[3] insignes eleemosynas larga manu impendit. Viros religiosos specialiter honoravit:[4] et res eorum æquo cum suis dominicis jure conservari mandavit.[5]

He put down the savage custom of wrecking.

Antiquam atque inhumanam circa naufragos consuetudinem in ipsis regni sui initiis eximia pietate correxit: atque hujusmodi hominibus ab æquoreo discrimine liberatis, humanitatis officium exhiberi præcipiens, graves in eos pœnas sanxit qui forte illis in aliquo[6] molesti esse, vel de rebus eorum quippiam usurpare præsumerent.

Before the Saladin tithe the king never imposed onerous taxes, nor taxed the clergy.

Nullum[7] grave regno Anglorum vel terris suis transmarinis onus unquam[8] imposuit, usque ad illam novissimam decimationem, causa expeditionis Ierosolymitanæ, quæ[9] nimirum decimatio in aliis æque fiebat regionibus. Tributum more aliorum principum sub cujuslibet necessitatis obtentu ecclesiis sive monasteriis nunquam indixit: quibus etiam ab[10] angariis et exactionibus publicis religioso studio immunitatem servavit.

He sought peaceful solutions of difficulties.

Discrimen sanguinis et mortes hominum exhorrescens, armis quidem cum aliter non potuit, sed libentius pecuniis cum potuit, pacem quærere studuit. His aliisque bonis personam ornans regiam, multis tamen, ad sola ejus mala oculos habentibus, gratus non fuit.

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[1] L. has an imperfect word, *publiæ*.

[2] *in*, B.L.S.; *ut*, C.

[3] *pluribus*, B.L.R.S.; *plurimis*, C.

[4] *honoravit*, B.L.S; *honorabat*, C.

[5] *mandavit*, B.C.L.S.; *præcepit*, R.

[6] *in aliquo*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[7] B. has *nullo*.

[8] *unquam*, C.L.S.; *nequam*(?), B.

[9] B. has *qui*.

[10] *ab*, B.L.S.; om. C.

A.D. 1154–89.

Ingrati homines et conversi in arcum pravum, proprii mala principis[1] assidue carpebant; bona vero nec audire sustinebant: quibus utique sequentis temporis sola vexatio jam dedit intellectum. Quippe præsentium malorum experientia, bonorum ejus induxit memoriam: atque hominem in diebus suis fere omnibus tam invisum, egregium et utilem fuisse principem declaravit. Salomonem quoque regem pacificum, qui populum Israeliticum ad summi honoris fastigium et præclaras divitias extulit, eidem tamen populo minus placuisse, verba illa ad filium ejus satis insinuant: "Pater tuus aggravavit jugum nostrum: tu allevia "jugum nostrum, et serviemus tibi." Porro quod idem filius conquerenti populo, puerili levitate comminando respondit, scilicet: "Minimus digitus meus gros"sior est lumbis patris mei. Pater meus aggravavit[2] "jugum vestrum; ego addam jugo vestro. Pater "meus cecidit vos flagellis, ego cædam vos scorpioni"bus." Quod, inquam, ab illo leviter dictum est, ad tempora nostra non leviter redundat, et nostris aptissime temporibus congruit: et tamen populus insipiens cum minori nunc querela scorpionibus cæditur quam ante annos aliquot flagellis cædebatur. Obiit autem illustris rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavensium, Henricus secundus, anno regni sui xxx°v°, anno ex quo signum Domini suscepit[3] secundo, biennio Christianæ in oriente debellationis exacto.

Isaias, xviii. 19.

His conduct displeased some, but the contrast with the later administration declares his excellence as a ruler.

1 Reg. xii. 4.

2 Paralip. x. 11.

The difference between Henry and his son Richard similar to that between Solomon and Rehoboam.

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[1] *principis*, C.L.S.; *principes*, B.

[2] *meus aggravavit*, B.C.S.; L. omits *meus* and has the imperfect word *aggravit*.

[3] B. omits *suscepit*.

Cap. XXVII.

De laboriosa et morosa obsidione Acræ.

A.D. 1189.

The Emperor Frederick I. begins his march towards the East (April 23).

James of Avesnes leads a French expedition by sea to Tyre.

Siege of Acre (begun Aug. 22).

Sane cum juxta digestam superius narrationem memorati inter se reges contenderent, et fœdus quod cum Christo paulo ante pepigerant minus observarent, licet ille excusabilis videatur qui a prosequendo pio proposito non voto est proprio sed vi externa deflexus: Fredericus imperator Romanus tantæ vecordiæ jure succensens, eosdem non exspectandos censuit; sed filio seniori, quem regem Longobardorum constituerat, imperii cura commissa, cum filio Suevorum duce[1] per Pannonias Thraciasque iter facturus, tempore congruo peregrinationem arripuit, ducens secum maximas atque fortissimas Germanicarum gentium copias. De regno quoque Francorum Jacobus de Aveniis, vir fortis et nobilis, cum aliis plurimis necnon et ex[2] aliis regnis Christianis armata manus non modica,[3] imperatore Latino propter Græci imperatoris perfidiam per subditas illi regiones morose transeunte, liquidi itineris compendio Tyrum venerunt: atque annitente[4] marchione, qui eidem urbi pro tempore præsidebat, cum Templariis et Hospitalariis Tholomaidam, quæ nunc Acra dicitur, valido fultam præsidio obsederunt. Et ne urbem a facie habentes,[5] hostilis exercitus impetu a tergo premerentur, vallum sibi firmissimum circumduxerunt. Saladinus vero mox cum infinitis Turcorum copiis affuit, fixisque circa vallum tentoriis, quotiens nostri urbem impetebant, Turci in

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[1] C. has *ducem*.
[2] *ex*, B.L.S.; om. C.
[3] *non modica*, C.L.S.; *immodica*, B.
[4] *annitente*, B.L.S.; *annuente*, C.
[5] *habentes*, B.L.S.; *labentes*, C.

vallum[1] impetum faciebant. Unde factum est, ut cum summo nostrorum labore atque periculo diutius obsidio traheretur, dum et nostri maris beneficio subsidia caperent, et Turci virorum, armorum, et ciborum copia urbem, captata flatuum opportunitate, munirent. Quomodo autem eadem civitas tandem expugnata sit, postquam Christianum exercitum diu multumque exercuit, quæ minimo[2] negotio in manus hostiles inciderat, suo loco dicetur.

A.D. 1189. Siege of Acre.

Cap. XXVIII.

De morte Willelmi Regis Siciliæ, et de malis quæ per illam[3] contigerunt.

Eodem tempore aggravata est manus Domini super nostros in summis angustiis constitutos, præcipuum illis subtrahendo patronum, illustrem scilicet Siciliæ regem et Apuliæ ducem Guillelmum, cujus utique religiosa et potenti opera pauperculæ illæ Christianitatis in Syria reliquiæ potissimum conservatæ[4] noscuntur, quas profecto ab initio desolationis competentibus subsidiis sublevare curavit, cum nec a regnis remotioribus quicquam possent percipere, et Saladini ob recentem victoriam vehementius excandesceret feritas.[5] Et quidem illius sublatio tolerabilis utcunque fuisset, nisi post eum exitialis de regni successione altercatio[6] emersisset, qua nimi-

A.D. 1189. Death of William the Good king of Sicily (Nov. 16).

The Crusaders thereby lose much assistance in the way of provisions and stores.

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[1] *impetebant . . . vallum*, B.C.S.; om. L.

[2] For *minimo* B. has *cruento*, in plummet.

[3] *illam*, C.L.S.; *illum*, B.

[4] *conservatæ*, B.L.S.; *conservare*, C.

[5] *feritas*, C.L.S.; in B. the 15th cent. hand has altered *veritas* to *severitas*.

[6] *altercatio*, B.L.S.; *alteratio*, C. William left his dominions to his aunt (on p. 286, *consobrina*) Constance, wife of Henry king of the Germans. Tancred was illegitimate son of William's uncle.

A.D. 1189. rum regiones clarissimæ ita turbatæ sunt et desolatæ, ut Christianis in Syria laborantibus nihil posset exinde solatii juxta morem pristinum ministrari.

Troubles in Sicily arising from disputes as to the succession.

Hujus autem turbationis causa noscitur exstitisse, quod idem rex uxore ducta regis Anglorum filia, et ex ea sobole non suscepta, decessit. Porro ejus consobrina, cui eo mortuo regni competere videbatur hereditas, regi Longobardiæ, Teutonici imperatoris filio, nupserat. Verum Siculi Apulique, Alemannicam execrantes ditionem, virum nobilem[1] de stirpe regum priorum Tancredum cum favore sedis Apostolicæ regem sibi creaverunt. Unde motus[2] rex Longobardiæ bellum eis[3] indixit; et paulo post patre ex hac vita rapto, ut suo loco dicetur, ad apicem sublimatus imperii, Italicum atque Teutonicum furore implacabili immisit eis exercitum. Qualem autem hæc imperatoria expeditio exitum habuerit, alius exponendi locus erit.[5] Rerum igitur Sicularum Apularumque tanta turbatio Christianis in Oriente reliquiis uberrimum consueti fructum præcidit auxilii. Et nostræ quidem historiæ librum hic tertium terminamus, ut in ea quartus cum regno illustris regis Ricardi liber incipiat.

Explicit liber tertius.

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[1] Tancred, count of Lecce. He was king of Sicily 1189–1194.

[2] *motus*, B.C.R.S.; *mox*, L.

[3] *eis*, B.S.; *in eis*, C.; *ei*, L.

[4] B. has *quale*.

[5] Lib. v. cap. 7.

LIBER QUARTUS.

A.D. 1189–1194.

Incipiunt Capitula Libri Quarti.[1]

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[1] B. and D. omit the entire elenchus.

[2] *suum*, C.S.; *ejus*, L.

[3] *Rannulfo de Glamvilla*, S.; *Ranulfo de Glanvilla*, C.L.

[4] *transfretaret*, L.S.; *transfretaverit*, C.

[5] *sint*, C.S.; *sunt*, L.

[1] *de*, C.L.S.
[2] *præmaturo*, C.S. : *præmature*, L.
[3] *discessu*, L.S. ; *decessu*, C.

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[1] *Jopen* in C.L.S.
[2] C. has *custodia*.
[3] *Coventrense:* C.L.O.R. and S. have *Coventrensem.*

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.

[1] *captivitatem*, L.S.; *captionem*, C.

INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS.[1]

CAP. I.[2]

De primordiis regis Ricardi et de iis quæ in ejus coronatione contigerunt.

A.D. 1189.

Accession of Richard I.

Anno a plenitudine temporis quo Veritas de terra orta est M°C°LXXX°IX°, sedi Apostolicæ præsidente Clemente, Henrico autem Frederici filio arcem Romani imperii tenente, et Francis imperante Philippo, Ricardus, illustrissimi regis Anglorum Henrici secundi filius, defuncto patri[3] successit. Hic patre sepulto, hereditati mox transmarinæ incumbens, nobilium simul et plebium sollemnibus votis gaudiisque excipitur; rebusque trans mare mature dispositis, in Angliam, quæ ejus cum desideriis præstolabatur adventum, opportune transvehitur; cunctis ex ejus edicto custodiis per Angliam relaxatis, ut scilicet[4] ad introitum novi principis esset lætitia generalis. Quippe æstuabant tunc carceres reorum multitudine, sub exspectatione vel discussionis vel supplicii: sed eo regnum ingrediente pestes illæ carcerum per ejus clementiam sunt egressæ, confidentius fortasse[5] de cetero grassaturæ.[6] Statuto die unctionis regiæ, convenit Lundonias pæne universa regni nobilitas, de

Is joyfully received in England (Aug. 13).

Release of prisoners.

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[1] These words are not in D.

[2] As the Dublin MS. (containing Books IV. and V.) begins here, this point has been selected for the presentation of three chapters collated with all of the nine existing MSS. of the chronicle. The object of this extended collation is to show the relationship existing between certain of the manuscripts.

[3] *patri,* A.B.C.D.G.L.R.S.; *patre,* O.

[4] *scilicet,* B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *simul,* A.

[5] *fortasse,* A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. C.

[6] The release of prisoners was not quite so indiscriminate as it would appear from this. See the proclamation as given by Bened. Petrob. (Rolls' Ed. ii. 74).

A.D. 1189. partibus quoque transmarinis copiosa virorum spectabilium multitudo. Ricardus igitur,[1] solus regum a seculo ita nominatus, Lundoniis est consecratus in regem, et sollemniter coronatus[2] a Balduino[3] Cantuariensi archiepiscopo tertio nonas Septembris; qui dies ex prisca gentili superstitione malus vel[4] Ægyptiacus[5] dicitur, tanquam[6] quodam Judaici eventus præsagio. Dies enim ille Judæis exitialis fuisse dignoscitur, et Ægyptiacus magis quam Anglicus; cum Anglia,[7] in qua sub rege priore felices et incliti fuerant, repente illis in Ægyptum, ubi patres eorum dura perpessi sunt, Dei judicio verteretur. Res quidem recentis memoriæ est, nullique ignota[8] præsentium; sed operæ pretium est pleniori relatu transmittere ad posteros tam perspicui circa gentem perfidam et blasphemam superni judicii monumentum. Convenerant ad sollemnem Christiani principis unctionem ex cunctis Angliæ finibus non tantum nobiles Christiani verum etiam primi Judæorum. Caventes enim iidem hostes veritatis ne forte habita sub rege priore felicitas minus eis arrideret sub novo, ejus[9] decentissime honoranda primordia et favorem non disparem amplitudine munerum redimendum duxerunt. Verum ille vel[10] minus jam eos acceptans quam pater, vel nescio quid præcavens, superstitiosa quadam de consilio quorundam cautela, edicto, ut dicitur, interdixit eis ingressum vel ecclesiæ dum coronaretur, vel pa-

Coronation, Sept. 3.

The king forbids the Jews to be present at his coronation, but many

[1] *igitur*, A.B.C.D.G.L.R.S.; *vero*, O.

[2] *coronatus*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *consecratus*, G.O.R.

[3] *Balduino*, D.G.R.S.; *Baldwyno*, A.; *Baldewino*, B.; *Baldiwino*, C.; *Baldwino*, O.L.

[4] *vel*, A.B.C.D.G.L.O.S.; om. R.

[5] See Ducange under "*dies*." The word for September is *coluit*, and the first letter of the first syllable, being *third* in the alphabet, gives the day.

[6] *tanquam*, om. R.

[7] *Anglia*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *Anglica*, R.G.; *Anglica* altered to *Anglia*, O.

[8] *ignota*, A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *est ignota*, C. by interlineation.

[9] *ejus*, C.D.G.L.O.S.; *ejusdem*, A.B.; om. R.

[10] *vel*, A.B.D.G L.O.R.S.; *cum*, C.

latii dum post coronationis sollemnia convivaretur.[1] Expletis igitur missarum sollemniis, rex fulgens diademate cum pompa magnifica ad convivium intravit. Contigit autem, eo discumbente cum omni frequentia nobilium, populum circa palatium observantem tumultuari. Judæi siquidem turbis immixti, fores sic regias introibant. Unde indignatus, ut fertur, quidam Christianus, Judæum palma percussum ab ingressu januæ arcere curavit, regium objectans edictum. Quo exemplo plures accensi, Judæos cum contumelia repellebant: factoque tumultu, indisciplinata cum turbine turba accurrit; credentesque regem talia mandasse, tanquam freti auctoritate regia in multitudinem Judæorum ad fores regias observantium pariter irruerunt. Et primo quidem percutiebant pugno impie, mox vero vehementius efferati sustulerunt ligna et lapides. Porro Judæi fugam inierunt; in fuga nonnulli cæsi usque ad mortem, quidam etiam[2] protriti[3] perierunt. Venerant autem illuc cum ceteris duo nobiles Judæi Eboracenses, Joceus scilicet et Benedictus; quorum prior evasit, seqnens vero, dum plagis impositis segnius fugeret, comprehensus, ut mortem differret Christum coactus est confiteri, ductusque in ecclesiam illico baptizatus est. Interea rumor gratissimus, quod scilicet rex omnes Judæos exterminari jussisset, totas incredibili celeritate percurrit Lundonias; moxque infinitus indisciplinatorum populus, tam ex ipsa civitate quam ex illis quos illuc ex provinciis plurimis unctionis regiæ sollemnitas traxerat, armatus accurrit, spirans prædarum[4] et cædis[5] in populum Dei judicio cunctis invisum. Porro cives Judæi, quo-

A.D. 1189.

nevertheless congregate round the abbey gates.

A Jew attempting to enter is assaulted, and a riot ensues.

Some of the Jews are killed.

Two of the leading Jews of York are present; one escapes, the other is wounded and is forced to accept baptism.

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[1] *convivaret*, A. and, by erasure, B.; *dominaretur* (?), R.

[2] *etiam*, B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.

[3] *protriti*, A.B.D.L.R.S.; *perterriti* (?), C.; *proterriti* (?), O.

[4] *prædarum*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *præclarum*, G.R. The *c* and *l* are of course the curve and the upright stroke of the letter *d*.

[5] R. has *sedis*.

A.D. 1189. rum multitudo Lundoniis habitare dignoscitur, cum illis qui undecunque confluxerant, in domos se proprias receperunt. Circumdantur a frementibus[1] populis fortiterque oppugnantur ab hora nona usque ad solis occasum eædem[2] domus; quæ, quoniam[3] propter fabricam firmiorem effringi non poterant, et[4] furentibus machinæ deerant, igne tectis immisso, horrendum cito colluxit incendium; quod et[5] laborantibus Judæis exitiale[6] fuit, et furentibus Christianis in nocturno opere lucis adjutorium præbuit. Nec solis Judæis specialiter in eos accensus[7] ignis nocuit, quia, discretionis nescius, nonnullas quoque proximas[8] Christianorum ædes corripuit.[9] Videres repente clarissima urbis loca flammis civilibus, tanquam hostilibus, miserabiliter[10] conflagrare.[11] Judæi vero[12] vel in propriis torrebantur ædibus, vel egredientes excipiebantur ensibus. Multum sanguinis in brevi fusum est. Verum cito satietatem[13] cædium[14] induxit fortius excandescens cupido prædarum,[15] vicitque avaritia crudelitatem. Denique omissis[16] cædibus, expilandis[17] ædibus et diripiendis opibus rabies avara incubuit. At hoc Chris-

The Jews are besieged in their houses, which are ultimately set on fire.

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[1] *frementibus*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *ferventibus*, G.O.R.

[2] *eædem*, B.C.D.G.L.O S.; *earundem*, A.; *eodem*, R.

[3] *quoniam*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.B.

[4] *et*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *et quia*, A. and, by correction, B.

[5] *et*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.B.

[6] Both G. and R. have *exciali* (sic).

[7] *accensus*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *accessus*, G.R.

[8] *proximas*, A.B.C.D.G.L.R.S.; *plurimas*, O.

[9] *corripuit*, A.B.C.[D.] L.R.S.; in D. a different hand writes *et corrupit* above; in O. there is an alternative reading noted in the margin, but it is bound in, and is only legible as far as *corrup* . . . G. has *corrupuit* (sic).

[10] *miserabiliter*, A.B.C. D.O. S.; *mirabiliter*, G.R.; corrected from *mirabiliter*, L.

[11] G.R. and L. have the imperfect word *conflagare*.

[12] *vero*, B.C.D.L.R.S.; *quoque*, O.; om. A.

[13] *satietatem*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *sancietatem*, G.R.

[14] *cædium*, B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.

[15] R., and less certainly G., repeat the error *præclarum*. See p. 295, note 5.

[16] R. has *omissus*.

[17] O. has an alternative reading legible only as far as *expolia* . . . (for *exspoliandis?*).

tianos versa vice Christianis fecit infestos; dum alius alii quod forte rapuerat invideret,[1] et prædandi studio ne[2] amicis quidem et sociis impia æmulatrix avaritia parceret.[3]

A.D. 1189.

Nuntiantur hæc regi festive in palatio[4] cum omni procerum frequentia convivanti; mittitur a latere ejus Rannulfus de Glamvilla, regni procurator, vir potens et prudens, cum aliis æque nobilibus, ut vel flecteret vel frenaret audaces. At id[5] frustra. In tanto enim tumultu[6] nullus eorum aut vocem auscultavit aut faciem honoravit, quin potius quidam indisciplinatiores[7] fremere adversus eos cœperunt, et ut maturius recederent terribiliter denuntiaverunt. Illis igitur effrenatam rabiem consulte declinantibus, tanta licentia quanta et audacia usque ad sequentis[8] diei horam secundam desævière prædantes, et tunc sæviendi magis satietas vel lassitudo quam vel ratio vel reverentia principis prædantium sedavit[9] furorem. Hoc eatenus inaudito[10] regiæ civitatis eventu, et egregie inchoato perfidæ[11] gentis[12] exitio, et nova Christianorum contra inimicos crucis Christi fiducia, insignitus est regni illustrissimi regis Ricardi dies primus, plane non tantum juxta regulam[13] qua jubentur ambigua in melius potius quam in deterius derivari, verum etiam juxta[14] significationem aptissimam

The king hears of the tumult during the coronation feast. Ranulf de Glanville is sent to stop the riot, but is driven back by threats.

The author interprets these events as a presage of the king's mission as a crusader against all infidels.

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[1] O. has *invideret* altered to *invaderet*.

[2] O. has *nec*.

[3] R. de Diceto, who assisted at the coronation, dismisses this affair in a few lines. He says (ii. 69) the attack was made *ab alienigenis* and at night, so the perpetrators could not be discovered—a courtier's excuse.

[4] O. omits *in palatio*.

[5] *istud* in R.

[6] *in tanto enim tumultu*, A.B. D.L., and S. by marking for transposition; *in tumultu enim tanto*, C.G.O.R.

[7] C.L.O. and R. have the mistake *indisciplinatores*.

[8] A. has *sequentes*.

[9] A. has *sedant*.

[10] L. has *mandato*.

[11] O. has *perfidiæ*.

[12] A. has *gentes*.

[13] *regulam*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *regiam*, G.R.

[14] *juxta*, om. A.

A.D. 1189. Christianæ in diebus ejus promotionis præsagus.[1] Quid enim aptius portendit, si quid portendit,[2] quod regiæ consecrationis ejus diem pariter et locum blasphemæ gentis nobilitavit exitium,[3] quod in ipso regni ejus exordio hostes Christianæ fidei cœperunt juxta eum cadere et infirmari? Non ergo sic moveat quemquam vel urbis in quadam ejus parte incendium, vel insulsus ille fervor indisciplinatorum, quominus præclari eventus bonus fiat pinsque interpres: cum et[4] hujusmodi supernæ moderationis ordini militent, impleatque Omnipotens[5] plerumque voluntatem suam valde bonam per hominum[6] etiam nequissimorum voluntatem et actionem valde pravam.

The anger and perplexity of the king.

Sane rex novus, cum esset ingentis animi et ferocis, indignatus, et dolens quod in suæ coronationis sollemniis regnique primordiis sub ejus præsentia talia contigissent, æstuabat, anxius quidnam super his esset agendum. Tantam[7] quippe et sine exemplo majestatis regiæ læsionem dissimulare atque inultam dimittere, et regi nimis[8] indecorum[9] et regno quoque noxium videbatur; cum tantæ atrocitatis dissimulatio per impunitatis fiduciam improborum ad attentanda similia nutritura foret audaciam. Porro in infinitam reorum multitudinem censuræ regiæ vigorem exercere[10] prorsus[11] erat impossibile:[12] nam præter[13] nobiles cum rege convivantes,[14] quorum tantus erat numerus ut regii amplitudo palatii angusta videretur, fere totum

The obvious impossibility of punishing

[1] *præsagus*, A. B. D. G. L. R. S.; *præsagiis*, C.O.

[2] A. omits *si quid portendit.*

[3] O. has *exitum.*

[4] For *et* A. reads *enim.*

[5] *opns* in A.

[6] *omi* (? *omni*), R.; *ominum*, G.

[7] *tantam*, A.B.C.D.G.R.S.; *tanta*, L.; *tanquam*, O.

[8] *regi nimis*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *regiminis*, A.B.

[9] *indecorum*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *Judæorum*, G.O.R.

[10] Some (three) were hanged, *non propter Judæos*, but for destroying the houses of Christians, Hoveden, iii. 12.

[11] *pssus* in G. and R.

[12] R. has *impossibilem.*

[13] *præter*, A.B.D.L.O.S.; *propter*, C.G.R.

[14] *convivantes*, B.C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *comminantes*, A.

A.D. 1189.

civitatis populum et fere totas nobilium familias, quæ cum ipsis nobilibus ad unctionis regiæ sollemnia venerant, odium Judæorum et prædarum[1] illecebra ad memorati operis patrationem contraxerant. Dissimulari ergo oportuit quod vindicari non potuit; Deo nimirum ordinante ut qui divinæ in perfidos et blasphemos ultionis ministri exstiterant, humano propter hoc judicio minime sisterentur. Superni quippe examinis ratio exigebat ut blasphemi illi, qui tempore superioris principis supra modum cervicosi et protervi in Christianos fuerant, in[2] successoris ejus primordiis humiliarentur.

The crowd of offenders causes him to dissemble his resentment.

Benedictus vero ille, qui, ut dictum est, lavacrum Christianum coactus[3] acceperat, corde quidem non credens ad justitiam sed inani tantum oris confessione aerem verberans, in crastino perductus ad principem, interrogatus est ab eo an esset[4] Christianus? Qui respondit se a Christianis baptizari coactum, sed animo semper fuisse Judæum, et talem se malle mori, cum jam non posset vivere,[5] plagis enim pridie acceptis urgebatur ad mortem. Ejectus ergo[6] a facie principis, Judæis est redditus apostata Christianus, factusque filius Gehennæ duplo quam prius, post dies paucos defecit, ad hoc tantum Christianus factus, ut apostata moreretur.[7] Princeps autem post cladem[8] Judæis pacem edicto sancivit;[9] qua tamen, ut suo loco narrabitur, non diu sunt fruiti, superno utique judicio exigente blasphemæ gentis superbiam severius castigari.

Fate of Benedict of York.

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[1] *præclarum*, L.O.R. and (?) G.

[2] *in*, A.B.C.D.S.; *ut*, G.L.O.R.

[3] *coactus*, C.D.G.L.O.R.S.; om. A.B.

[4] *an esset*, A.B.C.D.L.O.S.; *autem esse*, R., and (?) G.

[5] A. has *invenire*.

[6] *ergo*, A.B.D.G.L.O.R.S.; *igitur*, C.

[7] Bened. Petrob. (ii. 83, 84) says the Jew was baptised by the prior of St. Mary's, York, but seems to think that he lived. So good an authority being close at hand Newburgh probably is right. Hoveden (iii. 12) says he died at Northampton.

[8] For *cladem* O. has *cadem*.

[9] See Fœdera i. 51 (ed. 1816), under date March 22, 1190.

Cap. II.

De ordinatione vacantium ecclesiarum post coronationem regis Ricardi.[1]

A.D. 1189.

The king fills the vacant sees of London, Winchester, Ely, and Salisbury.

In primis[2] sane rex novus studium habuit ut quoniam plures in Anglia cathedrales vacabant[3] ecclesiæ, propriis ad ejus instantiam eædem[4] gauderent præsulibus. Ricardus ergo Eliensis,[5] thesaurarius regius, sedem accepit Lundoniensem; Godefridus[6] Luciensis[7] cathedram Wintoniensem; Willelmus de Longo Campo, cancellarius regius, episcopatum Eliensem; Hubertus, Eboracensis decanus, ecclesiam Salesbiriensem. Porro Gaufrido fratri suo, qui ad[8] Lincolniensem ecclesiam olim electus,[9] annis,[10] ut suo loco dictum est, plurimis eidem[11] ecclesiæ ad metenda[12] ejus carnalia incubaverat, et inde tandem amotus, cancellis regiis usque ad patris decessum præfuerat,[13] concessit rex metropolitanam sedem Eboracensem, cum jam vacasset annis ferme[14] decem. Cujus Gaufridi electionem talem fuisse cognovimus. Patre defuncto, novi ducis adhuc in Normannia constituti literæ arte, ut dicitur, quorundam familiarium[15] ejusdem Gaufridi elicitae[16] ad capitulum Eboracense manarunt,[17] Gaufridum fratrem suum in archiepiscopum eligi postulantes, atque obsistentibus regii motus periculum comminantes. Quibus literis territi atque præstricti præcentor[18] et

The king's natural brother Geoffrey appointed archbishop of York (Sept. 15).

Geoffrey is said to have obtained the see of York by fraudulent means.

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[1] *post . . . Ricardi*, om. A.
[2] G. has *primus*.
[3] R. has *vocabant*.
[4] A. has *cedem* (sic).
[5] *Heliensis* in C.
[6] *Godefredus*, C.
[7] R. alone has *Lucensis*.
[8] C. omits *ad*.
[9] Altered to *electo* in R.
[10] A. has *anno*.
[11] A. has *ejusdem*.
[12] A. has *merenda*.
[13] *et inde . . . præfuerat*, A.B.C. D.L.S.; om. G.O.R.
[14] *ferme*, B.C.D.L.S.; *fere*, A.G. O.R.
[15] A., B. and D. supply *familiarium* here; the word, a desirable one, is not in C.G.L.O.R. or S.
[16] C. has *illicite*.
[17] A. has *mandarunt*.
[18] This was Hamo.

ceteri qui aderant, nam decanus et plures alii[1] aberant, ad solam futuri principis gratiam respicientes, memoratum Gaufridum sollemniter elegerunt. Verum cum idem, sumpto diademate, regno præsideret paterno, eidem electioni succensuit, literisque illis quibus præstricti fuerant eligentes tanquam vel non suis vel certe surreptitiis derogans; pro necessitate tamen Ierosolymitanæ expeditionis[2] ingentis[3] summæ promissione[4] placatus, tandem assensum præbuit.[5] Qualia vero[6] circa eundem electum postmodum provenerunt,[7] suo loco exponetur.

A.D. 1189.

He pays a sum of money for the king's consent.

Cap. III.

De affectu regis ad Johannem fratrem suum.

Præterea circa Johannem fratrem[8] suum uterinum rex proprium egregie declaravit affectum. Nam præter paternæ in Hibernia acquisitionis plenitudinem, et comitatum in Normannia[9] Moritanensem, de quibus scilicet paternam donationem ratam habuit, in regno Anglorum tanta illi adjecit, ut quasi tetrarcha videretur. Denique Cornubiam, Devenesiram, Notingehamesiram, Loncastrum[10] cum adjacente provincia, atque alia plurima[11] de regio dominico[12] contulit;

A.D. 1189.

Richard's extravagant liberality to his brother John.

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[1] A. has *etiam alii*; B. has *et alii*.

[2] R. has *expedi.*

[3] C. has *ingenti.*

[4] *provisione* in A.

[5] Benedict says (ii. 77) that the dean, Hubert Walter, supported by Eleanor, opposed Geoffrey's election. He was elected, however (10 Aug.), and appointed at Pipewell (Sept. 15). Hoveden (iii. 17) says Geoffrey objected to some promotions made at Pipewell, "unde rex iratus dis-" seisivit eum de archiepiscopatu." The matter was smoothed over, for on Dec. 5 Hubert again appealed, but in vain. On Dec. 6 Geoffrey promised Richard 2,000 pounds, and the matter ended.

[6] *vero*, om. C.

[7] D. has *provenerint.*

[8] D. omits *fratrem.*

[9] *in Normannia*, om. A.B.

[10] R. has *Lancastrum.*

[11] C. has *plura.*

[12] *dominico*, C.G.L.O.R.S. ; *illi dominico*, A.B.D.

A.D. 1189. et nihilominus illi Gloucestrensis[1] comitis filiam, propriam scilicet in quarto gradu consobrinam,[2] cum integritate juris paterni, quod esse amplissimum noscitur, minus quidem legitima et plus justo fraterna[3] provisione, despondit. Verum hæc ejus in[4] fratrem immoderata atque improvida largitas, multa et[5] gravia mala sequenti tempore peperit, et profusum[6] largitorem[7] profunda pœnitudine[8] castigavit. Indulta enim Johanni tetrarchia fecit eum ambire monarchiam: unde et factus[9] est de cetero fratri infidus, et ad ultimum manifeste infestus: quod[10] nimirum plenius exponendi suum in ordine historiæ locum habebit.

The power placed in John's hands fed his ambition and led to his subsequent treacheries.

Cap. IV.

Quis successerit Rannulfo de Glanvilla in procuratione regni.

A.D. 1189. Erat autem idem adhuc regni procurator qui fuerat tempore regis prioris, Rannulfus scilicet de Glanvilla,[11] homo præclaræ prudentiæ. Qui cum esset grandævus, et videret a rege novitio multa minus consulte et provide actitari, hujus officii onere expediri voluit, ut ad Ierosolymitanam se profectionem, nam signum Domini sub rege Henrico susceperat,

Reasons which lead Ranulf de Glanville to retire from the office of justiciary (Sept.)

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[1] A. and B. have *Cloucestrensis.*

[2] This is an error. Her grandfather Robert, first earl, was a natural son of Henry I. John was therefore related to her in the *third* degree as Benedict (ii. 78) states. The marriage took place on Aug. 29.

[3] *superna* in A. and B.

[4] *ejus in*, A.B.C.D.L.S.; *in ejus*, G.O.R.

[5] For *et* A. has *id est.*

[6] *profusis* in A. and B.

[7] O. has *largiorem.*

[8] *pœnitudine*, A.B.D.G.O.S., and C. by alteration; *plenitudine*, L.R.

[9] A. has *fatuus.*

[10] A. has *quid.*

[11] See R. Divis. (p. 7) as to fine and imprisonment inflicted on him.

commodius præpararet. Sollemniter ergo renuntians officio, minus legitimos habuit successores. Idem quippe officium Dunelmensi episcopo, nec obluctanti, a rege commissum est:[1] qui nimirum consultius[2] proprio contentus officio, divini juris multo decentius quam humani minister exstitisset; cum nemo possit utrique, prout dignum est, deservire, atque illud Dominicum ad Apostolos, "Non potestis Deo servire et "mammonæ," maxime successores Apostolorum respiciat. Si enim velit episcopus, ut cœlesti pariter et terreno regi placeat, ad utrumque se officium dividere, certe Rex cœlestis, qui sibi vult ex toto corde, tota anima, tota mente[3] serviri, ministrum[4] dimidium non approbat, non diligit, non acceptat. Quid[5] si episcopus nec saltem dimidius quæ Dei sunt et decent episcopum exsequatur, sed[6] vices suas indignis et remissis executoribus committat, ut terreno vel palatio vel foro totus deserviat? Nam nec terreni principis ratiocinia quisquam dimidius sufficienter administrat. Quamobrem memoratus pontifex, cum jam esset grandævus, officio sæculari suscepto, in australibus Angliæ partibus ad publica totus negotia residebat.

A.D. 1189.

He is succeeded by Hugh bishop of Durham.

Matth. vi. 24.

Cap. V.

Quæ fecerit[7] rex in Anglia antequam transfretaret.

Tunc idem rex Anglorum, qui primus potentum, cum comes adhuc Pictavensis diceretur, Dominicum signum acceperat, circa Ierosolymitanam profectionem studiosius satagens, instante maxime rege Francorum

A.D. 1189.

The king's preparations for the crusade.

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[1] At the council of Pipewell.

[2] *consultius*, B.C.D.L S.; *consultus*, O.

[3] *mente*, B.C.D.L.S.; *virtute*, O.

[4] *ministrum*, B.C.D.L.S.; *et ministrum*, O.

[5] *quid*, B.D.L.S.; *quod*, C.; *qui*, O.

[6] *sed*, C.D.L.S.; *si*, B.

[7] *fecerit*, C.D.L.S.; *fecit*, B

A.D. 1189. ut tempore congruo iter simul arriperent, et moram quam interposuerant apparatu propensiore purgarent, sumptus idoneos modis cœpit omnibus præparare. Neque enim thesauros patrios, et quæcunque pater specialiter ad illam profectionem congesserat, sufficere judicavit; sed suam quoque industriam et operam in hoc ipso[1] expendens, citra patris vel in hoc consistere gloriam duxit inglorium.[2] Evocavit igitur mandatis urgentibus regem Scottorum, inveterata laborantem tristitia pro castellis, bellico, ut superius memoratum est, sibi casu ablatis, scilicet Rokesburg[3] et Berewich.[4] Nam tertium, quod dicitur Castellum Puellarum, sub rege Henrico receperat, cum conjugem ejus voluntate et consilio de partibus acciperet transmarinis. Veniens itaque ad regem Anglorum, pactus est ei decem millia marcas argenti pro resignatione castellorum; remeansque ad propria, eandem a subditis imminentia regiæ potestatis summam[5] corrasit: qua regi Anglorum soluta, cum multa lætitia castella recepit.[6] Dunelmensem quoque episcopum, quem pecuniosum esse credebat, rex novus astute pellexit, ut emeret a se proprii episcopatus provinciam, essetque ejusdem provinciæ episcopus simul et comes, annexo episcopatui comitatu. Quod et factum est, quam excogitato astu principis ut pecunias episcopi tolleret, tam immoderato ambitu grandævi episcopi episcopatu, qui opulentissimus[7] noscitur, in illa ætate non contenti, nec reputantis illud propheticum, immo per[8] prophetam Dominicum, "Væ qui conjungitis domum ad domum, et Isaias v. 1.

His efforts to raise money.

Sells Roxburgh and Berwick to the king of Scots (Dec. 5).

Hugh bishop of Durham is induced to buy the earldom of Northumberland. (Sept 1189?).

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[1] *ipso*, C.L.O.S.; *ipsum*, B.D.

[2] *inglorium*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Anglorum*, O.

[3] *Rokesburg*, D.O.S.; *Rokesburth*, B.; *Rokesburc*, C.; *Rokesburgh*, L.

[4] *Berewich*, C.S.; *Berewyck*, B.; *Berewic*, D.; *Berewikeh*, L.; *Berewike*, O.

[5] B. has *summa*.

[6] Newburgh omits to mention the release from allegiance (Ben. Petr. ii. 98).

[7] *opulentissimus opulentissimo* in C.

[8] *per*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. O.

"agrum agro copulatis": ut comitatum ad episcopatum conjungere,[1] quod utique majus est non[2] curaret. Dedit ergo regi pro emendo comitatu quicquid pro Ierosolymitanæ profectionis apparatu congesserat, et quicquid insuper corradere poterat[3] de episcopatu. Et ipse quidem de hujusmodi mercimonio glorians jocabatur.[4] Rex vero facetias inde conficiens ita jocabatur, "De vetusto episcopo novitium comitem mirus "ego artifex feci." Cum autem idem episcopus hoc modo se nudasset pecuniis, quas sacræ propter Christum peregrinationi devoverat, illud quoque consequenter studuit irritare, quod in sollemni crucis susceptione omnipotenti Domino[5] voverat. Cumque apud Romanum pontificem per nuntios non[6] diceret, "Comitatum emi, et ideo Ierosolymam proficisci non possum, "rogo te habe me excusatum," quod quidem vere dixisset, sed potius fatiscentem causaretur ætatem, seque tam laboriosæ peregrinationi[7] minus sufficere allegaret, propriæ conscientiæ relictus, illico signum sacrum sollemni devotione susceptum irreverenter et infrunite abjecit, et inventæ apud regem pretiosæ margaritæ, pro qua tanta dederat, possidendæ incubuit; quæ tamen uti nunc cernere est, non solida, sed pro rerum et temporum mutatione, brevis et perfunctoria possessio fuit.

A.D. 1189.

Cf. R. Divis., p. 8.

Bishop Hugh of Durham gives up the crusade

Sane rex eadem arte, qua hujus episcopi[8] sacculos exhausit, alios quoque plures pellexit, ut effusis pecuniis certatim dignitates sive libertates quaslibet, vel publica officia, vel ipsa etiam prædia regia compararent.[9] Distrahebat itaque propria mature profecturus, tanquam

The king sells offices, privileges, &c.

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[1] C. has *jungere*.

[2] *est non*, B.C.D.L.S.; *est non*, but *non* expuncted, L.

[3] *poterat*, D.L.S.; *poterit*, B.; *potuit*, C. He gave 2,000 marks. See Pipe Roll, 2 Ric. 1.

[4] B. and D. have *jocundabatur*, a mediæval form.

[5] *Deo* in C. The pope gave Richard power to cancel vows in certain cases, R. Divis., p. 8.

[6] *non*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.O.

[7] B. has *peregrinationem*.

[8] *episcopi*, B.D.L.S.; *ipse*, C.

[9] Hoveden (iii. 13) says this open sale began on Sept. 5.

A.D. 1189. animum redeundi non habens. Cumque ab amicis propter hoc familiari ausu increparetur, respondisse fertur, "Lundonias quoque venderem, si emptorem idoneum "invenirem." Denique in hac distractione desipere videbatur: eoque proclivius emebant plurimi quo nunquam repatriaturus credebatur. Præmaturo namque et immoderato usu armorum, quibus ab ingressu adolescentiæ plus justo indulserat, ita jam fractus et languidus dicebatur, ut Orientalis labore expeditionis cito absumendus videretur. Alii vero dicebant eum quartano incommodo, quo diu laboraverat, ita corruptum et tabidum, ut diu non posset in illo maxime tam grandi labore subsistere; hujus rei[1] argumentum esse indecentem quandam, quæ in eo apparebat, cum pallore faciei membrorum corpulentiam. Aiebant etiam[2] quidam, quod plusquam centum in corpore haberet usturas pro evaporanda[3] corruptione humorum.

Avers that he would sell London if he could find a suitable purchaser. His acts lead to a belief that he does not expect to return from the crusade.

Cf. B. Divis., p. 10.

Tales de rege per aures,[4] et fere per ora omnium volitabant rumores: quibus utique fidem dabant indiscretæ atque immoderatæ ejus vel donationes vel distractiones; et credebatur, tanquam cito se finiendum intelligens, minus de regno curare, quod ita vel scinderet vel dissiparet. Verum quam subtili hæc astu vel fecerit vel finxerit, ut omnium qui pecuniosi videbantur sacculos exhauriret, postea claruit. Mensibus autem aliquot in Anglia demoratus, regni administratione cancellario suo, episcopo scilicet Eliensi, relicta, ante Dominici Natalis sollemnia Normanniam transfretavit. Succensebant ei fere omnes, quod rex nobilis peregre profecturus in regiones longinquas, minus sollemniter regnum proprium reliquerit: et remissiorem[5] quam oportuit ejus curam, cum egrederetur, habuerit, et quod homini peregrino obscuri nomi-

His astuteness shown by later events.

The administration of the kingdom confided to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely.

[1] *rei*, C.D.S.; *re*, B.: *regi*, L.
[2] C. has *enim*.
[3] B. has *evaporandum*.
[4] *rege per aures*, C.D.L.S.; *regeo* (sic) *aures*, B.
[5] B. has *remissionem*.

nis, et minus probatæ[1] vel fidei vel industriæ, absque consilio et voluntate optimatum, rerum summam crediderit. Utrum vero recte an secus in his regiæ fuerit ordinationi derogatum, sequentis est temporis eventibus declaratum.

A.D. 1189.

The king sails for Normandy before Christmas (about Dec. 11).

Cap. VI.

De quodam prodigio, quod eo tempore in aere visum est.

A.D. 1189?

A crucifix is seen in the sky at Dunstable (Aug. 9, 1188).

Nec silentio prætereundum[2] est stupendum nimis terribileque prodigium, quod circa hæc tempora[3] in Anglia visum est a multis, qui usque nunc sunt testes ejus ad eos qui non viderunt. Est super stratam publicam, qua Lundonias pergitur, vicus haud ignobilis Dunstapla nuncupatus: ibi dum forte quidam hora postmeridiana in cœlum suspicerent, viderunt in sublimitate sereni[4] aeris formam vexilli Dominici lacteo candore conspicuam, et conjunctam ei formam hominis crucifixi, qualis in ecclesia ad memoriam Dominicæ passionis et devotionem[5] fidelium pingitur. Stabant autem stupefacti, fixis[6] rem mirabilem[7] oculis[8] intuentes. Quorum stuporem et erectos in cœlum vultus plurimi, strata publica gradientes, mirati, ipsi quoque suspicere, et visa rei novitate pariter stupere cœperunt. Cum ergo terribilis hæc species diuscule appareret, et curiose intuentium vultus animosque sus-

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[1] *probatæ*, B.D.L.S.; *probato* (?), C., omitting *vel fidei*.

[2] O. has *prætermittendum*.

[3] Benedict of Peterborough (ii. p. 47) gives this story with embellishments under date Aug. 9, 1188, and therefore in the previous reign: so also Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii. 157.

[4] *sereni*, B.D.L.S.; *sere in*, C.

[5] *et devotionem*, C.L.S.; *devotionem*, B.; *devotionemque*, D.

[6] *fixis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *genibus fixis*, O.

[7] *mirabilem*, C.D.L.S.; *miserabilem*, B.

[8] *oculis*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. O.

A.D. 1189? penderet, visa est forma crucis ab Eo, qui affixus videbatur, recedere, ut medium aeris spatium inter utrumque notaretur, et paulo post res stupenda disparuit: sed causa stuporis sublata effectus remansit. Denique late vulgatum est[1] verbum istud, reique prodigiosæ rumor et stupor pariter cucurrerunt. Interpretetur quisque ut voluerit signum mirabile, cujus utique didici simplex esse narrator, non etiam præsagus interpres; quid enim Divinitas eo significare voluerit nescio.

Cap. VII.

Quid actum sit[2] contra insolentiam Judæorum apud Linnam.[3]

A.D. 1190.

Conference between the kings of England and France to settle the date of starting for the East (Jan 13).

Cum[4] igitur, ut supradictum est, illustris rex Anglorum Ricardus, regno ut volebat disposito, Normanniam transfretasset, sollemne cum rege Francorum colloquium habuit: ubi ambo inter se mutuæ societatis jura firmantes, et germanam alterutrum compromittentes caritatem, Orientali se expeditioni cum viris nobilibus, qui signum Domini acceperant, fortius astrinxerunt, et tempus profectionis æstatem proximam statuerunt. Quibus sollemniter actis, uterque se princeps pro sua et negotii magnitudine præparabat.

Fresh outbreak of popular rage against the Jews.

Sane dum hæc in Galliis agerentur,[5] Christianorum adversus Judæos in Anglia zelus, Lundoniis, ut dictum est, paulo ante accensus, vehementer excanduit; non quidem sincere, id est, causa fidei tantum, sed eorum vel æmulando felicitatem vel inhiando fortunis. Arbitrabantur audaces et cupidi obsequium se præstare Deo dum spoliarent vel perderent homines

[1] *est*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

[2] *sit*, B.C.D.L.S.; *est*, O.

[3] *Linnam*, C.D.L.S.; *Luinam*, B.

[4] *Cum*. C.; *Dum*, B.D.L.O.S.

[5] This expression, the date (Feb. 6) of the Norwich outbreak, and Newburgh's statement on lines 10 and 11 of p. 309, show that the Lynn events took place in January.

Christo rebelles; et agebant, sine ullo vel minimo conscientiæ scrupulo, hilari furore propriæ cupiditatis negotium: Dei quidem justitia talia minime approbante, sed decenter ordinante ut hoc modo gentis perfidæ coerceret[1] insolentiam, et linguas frenaret[2] blasphemas. A.D. 1190.

Massacre of Jews at Lynn Regis (January).

Apud urbem commeatu et commerciis nobilem quæ Linna[3] dicitur, ubi ejusdem gentis plurimi habitabant, et sua multitudine, et opum magnitudine, et tuitione regia feroces, primus, ut accepimus, adversus eos motus est factus, occasione hujusmodi. Cum forte quidam ex eorum superstitione ad Christianam esset fidem conversus, ejus tanquam desertoris et prævaricatoris sanguinem sitientes, quærebant opportunitatem malitiæ consummandæ, raptisque quodam die armis aggressi sunt transeuntem: porro ille in ecclesiam proximam se recepit. Nec[4] quievere sævientes, sed pervicaci furore et impetu eandem ecclesiam oppugnare cœperunt, ut effractis foribus profugum ad pœnam extraherent. Ingens eorum qui erant in eadem[5] ecclesia clamor attollitur. Christianum sonoris vocibus auxilium flagitatur. Clamor et fama Christianum populum accendunt: qui cominus erant, ad clamorem, et qui eminus, ad famam armati accurrunt. Et loci quidem incolæ propter metum[6] regium remissius agebant; porro peregrini juvenes, quorum illuc multitudo negotiandi gratia venerat,[7] superbos belligerantes fortius[8] impetebant. Illi vero, dimissa oppugnatione ecclesiæ, cum Christianorum impetum ferre non possent, fugam inierunt. Cæsis in fuga nonnullis, domus eorum expugnatæ atque expilatæ a Christianis, flam-

Foreign traders were foremost in the affair.

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[1] *coerceret*, B.C.D.S.; *coercerent*, L.

[2] *frenaret*, B.C.D.S.; *frenarent*, L.

[3] B. has *Lima*.

[4] *nec*, C.D.L.S.; *nam*, B.

[5] *eadem*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.O.R.

[6] *metum*, C.D.L.S.; *merum*, B.

[7] B. has *venerant*.

[8] *fortius*, B.D.L.S.; *fortiter*, C.

A.D. 1190. — A Jewish physician was the last man murdered.

mis tandem ultricibus conflagrarunt, et eorundem[1] plurimi hostilem vel ignem vel gladium cruentarunt. Sequenti die superveniens quidam Judæus, insignis medicus, qui et artis et[2] modestiæ suæ gratia Christianis quoque familiaris atque honorabilis fuerat, cædem suorum paulo immoderatius deploravit, et quasi ultionem prophetans, spirantem adhuc furorem instigavit. Quem mox Christiani correptum, ultimam ibidem Judaicæ vesaniæ victimam fecerunt. Peregrini juvenes præda onusti repetitis navibus, ne quam forte a ministris regiis sustinerent quæstionem, celeriter abierunt. Loci vero incolæ, cum propter hoc discuterentur a regiis, in peregrinos, qui jam abierant, factum refuderunt.

Cap. VIII.

Quid actum sit[3] contra Judæos apud Stanfordam,[4] et de quadam superstitione populi.[5]

A.D. 1190. — Massacre of the Jews at Stamford begun by young men assembling for the Crusade (March 7).

Post hæc apud Stanfordiam[6] novi adversus Judæos turbinis motus surrexit. Cum enim ibidem Quadragesimali tempore[7] sollemnes nundinæ agerentur, juvenum, qui signum Dominicum Ierosolymam profecturi susceperant, ex diversis provinciis multitudo supervenit, indignans quod inimici crucis Christi ibidem habitantes tam multa possiderent, cum ipsi ad tanti itineris sumptus minus haberent, et ab[8] eis tanquam injustis possessoribus extorquendum duxerunt, quod susceptæ peregrinationis necessariis usibus applicarent.

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[1] *eorundem*, B.D.L.S. ; *eorum*, C.

[2] *et*, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

[3] *sit*, B.C.L.S. ; om. D.

[4] *Stanfordam*, D.S. ; *Stannforth*, B. ; *Stanfordiam*, C.L.

[5] *et . . . populi*. C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

[6] *Stanfordiam*, C.D.L.S. ; *Stannforthiam*, B.

[7] Diceto says "nonis Martii."

[8] *ab*, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

Arbitrantes itaque[1] obsequium se præstare Christo[2] si hostes ejus impeterent, quorum bonis inhiabant, audacter irruerunt in eos, nemine vel ex loci incolis vel ex iis qui ad nundinas venerant tantis se ausibus opponente,[3] nonnullis vero etiam cooperantibus. Cæsi sunt aliquot ex Judæis, ceteri vero intra castellum recepti ægre evaserunt. Expilatæ sunt domus eorum, et magna vis pecuniæ capta. Prædones cum sui operis emolumento abierunt, nullusque eorum propter hoc studio disciplinæ publicæ sustinuit quæstionem: quorum unus, Johannes nomine, audacissimus juvenis Hamtonam[4] divertens, partem pecuniæ suæ deposuit apud quendam, a quo etiam, ejusdem pecuniæ ambitu, occulte necatus est, corpusque ejus[5] per noctem extra urbem projectum. Quo invento, et a quibusdam forte agnito, clandestinam iniit fugam avarus homicida. Mox somniantibus vetulis atque apparentibus ibidem fallacium signorum præstigiis, martyris illi meritum et gloriam simplices tribuerunt, sepulchrum ejus sollemnibus excubiis honorantes. Fama excitum[6] vulgus insipiens, primo ex locis finitimis dehinc etiam ex diversis provinciis curiosa devotione confluebat, nullusque novi martyris cupiens vel intueri miracula vel promereri suffragia, ad sepulchrum ejus vacuus veniebat. Ridebatur quidem hoc a prudentibus, sed tamen gratum erat clericis[7] ex eadem superstitione provenientium gratia commodorum. Res defertur ad episcopum,[8] eximiæ virtutis virum: qui accedens ad locum in spiritu fortitudinis, concinnata studio simplicium et cupidorum falsi martyris insignia profanavit, et superstitiosam mortui hominis venera-

A.D. 1190.

One of the plunderers is murdered for the sake of his gains.

A report of supernatural signs at his tomb gaining credence, he is honoured as a martyr.

The bishop of Lincoln forbids further reverence to be paid

[1] *itaque*, B.D.L.S.; *namque*, C.

[2] *Christo*, B.D.L.S.; *Deo*, C.O.R.

[3] *opponente*, C.D.L.S.; *apponente*, B.

[4] *Hamtonam*, B.D.O.S.; *Hamtoniam*, C.L. This means Northampton. See p. 408.

[5] *est, corpusque ejus*, B.D.L.S.; *et corpus ejus* (*est* expuncted), C.

[6] *excitum*, B.C D.S.; *exitum*, L. *excitatum*, O.

[7] B. is doubtfully in accord.

[8] S. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln from 1186 to 1200.

A.D. 1190. — to the false martyr.

tionem pontificali auctoritate sub anathematis interpositione inhibuit. Sic pia et efficaci opera boni pastoris tota illa exstincta est atque evanuit operatio spiritus illusoris.

Cap. IX.

Quæ acta sint[1] *contra Judæos Lincolniæ et Eboracæ.*[2]

A.D. 1190. — The people of Lincoln also attack the Jews (March ?). Failure of their designs.

Lincolnienses vero audientes qualia circa Judæos agerentur, occasionem nacti, et animati exemplis, aliquid audendum duxerunt, et conglobati in cohabitantes Judæos motu subito exarserunt. Porro illi, agnito suorum in locis diversis vel pavore vel exitio, cautiores effecti, paucis discrimen expertis, in munitionem regiam cum pecuniis mature secesserunt. Itaque non multa re acta, sed multa per officiales regios quæstione subsecuta, inanis ille motus cito quievit.

A more effective attack is made at York (about March 9?).

Verum Eboracensibus non metus ferocissimi[3] principis, non vigor legum, non ratio, non humanitas obstitit, quominus cohabitantium perfidorum generali exitio furorem proprium saturarent,[4] atque in sua civitate totum illud genus abraderent. Quod nimirum, quia valde memorabile est, pleniori ad posteros oportet relatu transmitti. Eboracensium igitur Judæorum, ut supradictum est, primi fuere Benedictus et Joceus, homines locupletissimi et late fœnerantes. Ædificaverant autem in medio civitatis profusissimis sumptibus domos amplissimas, regalibus conferendas

The two leading Jews of York, Joyce and Benedict, had built

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[1] *quæ acta sint*, S.; *quid actum*, B.; *quæ acta sunt*, C.L.D.

[2] *Eboracæ*, B.D.L.S.; *Eboracensi*, C. Newburgh omits the massacres at Norwich (Feb. 6) and Bury St. Edmunds (March 18) mentioned by R. de Diceto. Two waves of persecution spread from Lynn, one northwards, the other to the south-east. By intercalation we may get probable dates.

[3] *ferocissimi*, B.C.D.L.S.; *fortissimi*, O.

[4] C. has *saturaret*.

A.D. 1190.

palatiis: ibique tanquam duo suæ gentis principes et Christianorum tyranni habitabant, cultu fastuque pæne regio procedentes, et duram in eos quos usuris oppresserant tyrannidem[1] exercentes. Qui cum essent Lundoniis in sollemnitate unctionis regiæ, Benedictus, ut supra memoratum est, infelicissimum Dei judicio sortitus[2] exitum, Maledictus[3] apparuit; Joceus vero ægre ad tempus subductus discrimini Eboracam rediit; et quoniam princeps post turbinem Lundoniensem pro pace Judæorum legem posuerat, cum ceteris per Angliam Judæis juxta morem pristinum fiducialiter agebat. Rege vero postmodum in[4] partibus transmarinis constituto,[5] conjurarunt[6] adversus Judæos Eboracenses provinciales plurimi; eorum, cum ipsi egerent, opulentiam non ferentes, et sine ullo Christianæ conscientiæ scrupulo[7] perfidum sanguinem prædarum cupidine sitientes. His auctores ad audendum fuere[8] quidam nobiliores impiis fœneratoribus in multam summam debitores; quorum nonnulli, cum pro accepta pecunia prædia illis propria apposuissent, grandi inopia premebantur; quidam vero cautionibus propriis obligati, ad satisfaciendum regiis fœneratoribus a fisci exactoribus urgebantur;[9] quidam etiam ex illis qui signum Dominicum[10] acceperant, jamque in procinctu Ierosolymitanæ profectionis erant, tanto facilius impelli potuere ut ex præda hostium Domini

Their palatial residences.

The already mentioned fate of Benedict.

Joyce relying on the king's recent deerce becomes bold once more.

After the king's departure a conspiracy is set on foot against the Jews of York.

Motives for the attack.

Men about to start for the East were

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[1] *tyrannidem*, B.D.L.S.; *et Christianorum tyrannidem*, C., having omitted *Christianorum* from its place in line 2.

[2] *sortitus*, B.D.L.S.; *sortitus est*, C.

[3] *Maledictus*, B.D.L.S.; *et Maledictus*, C.

[4] *Rege . . . in*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Rex vero postmodum cum esset in*, O.R.

[5] *constituto*, B.C.D.L.S.; *constitutus*, O.R.

[6] *conjurarunt*, C.D.L.S.; *conjurarent*, B.

[7] *ullo . . . . scrupulo*, B.C.D.S.; *ullo scrupulo conscientiæ*, L.

[8] *audendum fuere*, C.D.L.S.; *audiendum* (omitting *fuere*), B.; *audiendum fuere*, O.

[9] *jurgebantur* (?) in C.

[10] *Dominicum*, C.L.S.; *Domini*, B. D.

A.D. 1190.

specially tempted to plunder the Jews.

A fire diverting the attention of the people of York, the conspirators attack the house of Benedict's widow and sack it.

Joyce and the other Jews in alarm place their treasures in the castle.

suscepti pro Domino itineris sumptus juvarent, quanto minus propter hoc quæstionem aliquam arrepto jam itinere[1] formidarent. Cumque urbis pars non modica nocte intempesta, vel fortuito vel potius, ut creditur, a conjuratis immisso conflagravit[3] incendio, scilicet ut occupatis circa ædes proprias propter ignis periculum civibus, impedimentum non esset prædantibus, armata conjuratorum manus domum dicti Benedicti Lundoniis, ut supra memoratum est, infeliciter mortui, in qua uxor ejus et filii cum aliis pluribus habitabant, vi[4] magna et ferramentis ad hoc præparatis irrupit, cæsisque omnibus qui in ea erant, ignem quoque[5] tectis immisit. Et dum morose vires incendium sumeret, corrasis opibus ardentem domum reliquere, et in suum tenebrarum beneficio secretum onusti se recepere prædones. Quo casu consternati Judæi, et maxime clarior ceteris Joceus, arcis regiæ custode exorato et connivente, in eandem pecuniarum suarum ingentia pondera tanquam gazas regias convexere, et vigilantiorem de cetero suimet cautelam habuere. Post dies vero aliquot nocturni illi prædones cum majori fiducia atque ferocia redeunt, et, aggregatis sibi plurimis, domum Jocci, constructionis magnitudine et firmitate arces non ignobiles æmulantem,[6] fortiter oppugnantes, tandem captam expilatamque incendunt, cunctis quos in ea sinister casus offenderat flamma ferrove absumptis.[7] Joceus enim[8] paulo ante hoc malum caute præsagiens, cum uxore et filiis in arcem migraverat, similiter et ceteri Judæi, paucis ad victimam foris remanentibus. Prædonibus autem cum

[1] For *itinere* C. has *utile*.

[2] C. has *fortuitu*.

[3] *conflagravit*, C.L.S.; *conflagraret*, B.D.

[4] For *vi*, B. has *cum*.

[5] *ignem quoque*, B.D.L.S.; *ignemque*, C.

[6] *æmulantem*, B.D.L.S.; *ejulantem*, C.

[7] *absumptis*, B.C.D.S.; *assumptis*, L.

[8] *enim*, B.C.D.L.S.; *autem*, O.R.

tanti ausus emolumento dilapsis, facto mane, vulgus promiscuum irruit, diripuitque in diversis speciebus et multiplici supellectile prædonum ignisque reliquias. Tunc demum qui Judæos prius invisos habuerant, cum conjuratis, nullo publici vigoris respectu habito, manifeste et profusa licentia in eos debacchari cœperunt, nec eorum substantiis jam contenti, cunctis extra arcem inventis aut sacri baptismatis aut extremi discriminis optionem dederunt. Denique baptizati nonnulli, ficte se, ut mortem evaderent, Christianis aggregarunt: sine misericordia vero trucidati sunt qui sacramentum vitæ vel ficte recipere detrectarunt. Dum hæc agerentur, multitudo [1] quæ in arcem confugerat in tuto agere videbatur. Porro arcis præpositus ad quoddam forte negotium egressus, cum regredi [2] vellet, a multitudine intus excubante, incerta jam cui se crederet, non est admissus, ne forte et ejus circa se fides nutaret,[3] et corruptus quos [4] tuendos susceperat hostibus exponeret. Ille vero provinciæ præsidem, qui forte tunc ob regia negotia cum frequentia provincialium militum aderat, confestim [5] adiit, commissæ sibi arcis a Judæis fraudatum se custodia conquerens. Indignatus præses [6] contra Judæos infremuit, illis maxime, qui conjurationis auctores exstiterant, cum inflammantibus, et meticulosam illam miserorum cautelam superbam esse turris regiæ occupationem, atque in domini regis injuriam hoc ipsum redundare, allegantibus. Cumque multi homines perfidos modis omnibus impetendos arcemque illis regiam extorquendam decernerent,[7] jussit præses convocari populum arcemque oppugnari. Excurrit "irrevocabile verbum," plebis

A.D. 1190.

All Jews found outside the castle walls are given the option of baptism or death.

The warden of the castle having gone out, the Jews are afraid to let him return. Their action is misunderstood, and the warden and sheriff call upon the mob to attack the castle.

Horat. 1 Ep. xviii. 71.

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[1] Benedict (ii. 107) says 500, without including children.

[2] *regredi*, B.D.L.S.; *ingredi*, C.

[3] *nutaret*, B.D.L.O.S.; *mutaret*, C.

[4] For *quos* C. has *quod*.

[5] *confestim*, B.C.D.L.S.; *statim*, O.R.

[6] John Marshall, Rot. Pip. 2 Ric. 1.

[7] *decernerent*, B.C.D. and S. by correction marked in light ink; *decerneret*, L.O.R.

A.D. 1190. Christianæ zelus accenditur,[1] immensæ armatorum tam ex urbe quam ex[2] provincia circa arcem glomerantur catervæ. Tum præses, jussionis pœnitentia stimulatus, frustraque conatus revocare sententiam, arcis oppugnationem voluit inhibere: sed accensos semel animos, quominus prosequerentur inceptum, nullo rationis vel auctoritatis pondere valuit cohibere. Sane urbis nobilitas et cives graviores, motus regii periculum formidantes, tantam vecordiam caute declinarunt. Porro omne genus opificum, atque universa juventus urbana cum plurima provincialium turba, et militaribus viris non paucis, cum tanta alacritate aderat, instabatque cruento negotio, tanquam singuli proprium maximumque compendium quærerent. Clerici quoque plures non deerant, inter quos etiam quidam heremita ceteris ferventior videbatur.

The sheriff repents, but finds that he cannot control the mob.

A hermit incites the crowd against the Jews.

Par omnes zelus accenderat, arbitrantes grande se obsequium præstare Deo, si gentem Christo rebellem abraderent; dum ad illud Davidicum, immo Dominicum, quod utique in persona Salvatoris dicitur, cæcato animo caligarent: "Deus ostendit mihi[3] super "inimicos meos; ne occidas eos, nequando obliviscan- "tur populi mei." Quippe eadem Christianæ utilitatis ratione perfidus Judæus, Domini Christi[4] crucifixor, inter Christianos vivere sinitur, qua et forma crucis Dominicæ in Christi ecclesia pingitur,[5] ad continuandam scilicet cunctis fidelibus saluberrimam Dominicæ passionis memoriam, cum tamen in Judæo impiam execremur[6] actionem, in sacra vero forma illa divinam devotione debita veneremur dignationem: itaque Judæi

Psalm. lviii. 12.

The author's reflections on the events under narration.

[1] *accenditur*, B.C.D.L.S.; *accenditus*, R.

[2] *ex*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[3] *mihi*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

[4] *Christi*, C.D.L.S.; *nostri*, B.

[5] *pingitur*, B.D.L.S.; *impingitur*, C.

[6] *execremur*, B.C.D.L.O.R.; S. originally read *execremur*, but the word has been changed to *execramur* by what may possibly be the original hand.

inter Christianos debent quidem pro utilitate nostra vivere, sed pro sua iniquitate servire.[1] Porro Judæi in Anglia sub rege Henrico secundo consistentes, ordine præpostero super Christianos felices et incliti fuerant, et ex multa felicitate impudentius tumendo contra Christum plurima Christianis gravamina irrogarant: propterea diebus novi principis vitæ, quam de Christi habebant clementia, justo ejus judicio periculum pertulerunt, cujus tamen judicii ordine pulcherrimo[2] nequaquam excusantur qui motu incondito cladem illis intulerunt.

A.D. 1190.

Advantages given to Jews over Christians in the preceding reign.

Cap. X.

De exitio Judæorum apud Eboracam.

Igitur Judæi obsidebantur in turri regia; deeratque obsessis sufficiens escarum apparatus, sola proculdubio inedia mature expugnandis, etiamsi nemo foris urgeret. Sed nec sufficientem, sive pro sui tutela sive ad hostes propulsandos, armaturam habebant; quos nimirum imminentes saxis[3] tantummodo interiori muro detractis arcebant. Oppugnatur turris fortiter per dies aliquot, et tandem paratæ admoventur machinæ. Urgebat opus funestum præ multis aliis memoratus ille ex canonico[4] Præmonstratensi heremita, qui fama excitus nuper in urbem venerat, arcemque oppugnantibus in veste alba sedulus[5] aderat, hostes Christi proterendos sæpius cum clamore valido repetens, et suæ quoque cooperationis exemplo bellatores accendens. Dicitur autem, quod diebus obsidionis processurus ad opus cruentum hostiam in-

A.D. 1190, (March).

The Jews within York castle defend themselves with stones.

The hermit imprudently urging the attack is thus crushed.

[1] *itaque Judæi . . . . . servire,* B.C.D.S.; om. L.

[2] B. has *pulcherrima.*

[3] *saxis,* B.C.D.S.; om. L.

[4] B. has *canonice.*

[5] *sedulus,* B.C.D.L.S.: *seclusus,* R.

A.D. 1190. cruentam, erat enim sacerdos, manc immolaverit;[1] in tantum sibi cæcata mente persuaserat, quod et aliis persuadere nitebatur, religiosum scilicet esse nego-
March 16. tium quod agebatur. Cumque admoverentur machinæ, ferventi animo cooperabatur pro viribus. Unde factum est, ut incautius muro appropians, saxum grande desuper veniens non caveret; denique conquassatus procubuit, et sublatus continuo exspiravit. Declaratumque est, quod ratione vel professionis vel ordinis, major in eo petulantis facti reatus exstiterit,[2] quem solum ex nostris ibidem infeliciter occumbere contigit.

Admotis itaque machinis certa erat turris[3] expugnatio; nec jam erat ambiguum horam obsessis imminere fatalem. Nocte vero sequenti quievere oppugnantes, vicinæ victoriæ certitudine hilares. Porro
Despair of the Jews. Judæi, sola jam desperatione fortes et rigidi, requiem minime habuere, tractantes inter se quid in tali articulo esset agendum. Erat autem ibi senior qui-
One of the besieged, a learned Jew, advises self-destruction. dam, juxta[4] literam quæ occidit, famosissimus legis doctor, qui ad docendos Judæos Anglicanos, ut[5] dicitur, ex partibus venerat transmarinis. Hic erat[6] honorabilis omnibus, et tanquam uni ex prophetis obtemperabatur ei[7] ab omnibus. Cum ergo ab eo consilium pro tempore quæreretur,[8] respondit: "Deus, Eccles. viii. 4.
"cui dici non debet, 'Cur ita facis?' jubet nos pro Daniel iv. 35.
"lege sua mori modo. Et ecce mors nostra[9] in
"januis est, sicut videtis: nisi forte, quod absit, pro

[1] *immolaverit*, B.D.L.S.; *immolarat*, by alteration, C.

[2] The second mutilation occurs here in S., the text breaking off with the word *exstiterit* (in C. *exstiterat*) and resuming with *quam insignium*, *see* p. 325.

[3] *erat turris*, B.D.L.: *erat ejus turris*, C.

[4] B. omits *juxta*.

[5] *ut*, D.L.; *uti*, B.; *prout*, C.

[6] *erat*, B.C.D.; om. L.

[7] *ei*, B.D.L.; om. C.

[8] *quæreretur*, C.D.L.; *quæretur*, B.

[9] *mors nostra*, B.C.D.R.: *nostra mors*, L.

"brevitate vitæ hujus sacram legem deserendam pu- A.D. 1190.
"tetis, atque eligatis, quod bonis et virilibus ani-
"mis omni morte est durius, de misericordia scilicet
"impiorum hostium cum summo dedecore apostatice
"vivere. Cum ergo mortem gloriosam vitæ turpis-
"simæ præponere debeamus, honestissimum plane
"atque facillimum mortis genus eligendum est. Nam
"si inciderimus in manus hostiles, pro eorum arbi-
"trio cum ludibrio moriemur. Itaque vitam quam
"nobis Creator dedit, cum eam Ipse[1] jam repetat,
"propriis Illi manibus sponte et devote reddamus;
"nec ad reddendum quod repetit, ministerium cru-
"delitatis exspectemus hostilis. Hoc enim et multi
"nostrorum in diversis tribulationibus[2] laudabiliter
"fecisse noscuntur, formam nobis decentissimæ elec-
"tionis præstruentes." Hæc[3] cum dixisset, exitiale consilium amplexi sunt plurimi:[4] quibusdam vero durus visus est hic sermo. Tunc senior, "Quibus," inquit, "consilium tam bonum piumque non placet, "sedeant seorsum ab hoc sancto præcisi collegio; "nobis enim præ[5] caritate legis paternæ vita hæc "temporalis jam viluit." Secesserunt igitur plurimi, hostium potius clementiam experiri[6] quam hoc modo interire cum sociis eligentes. Mox ad arbitrium insanissimi senioris, ne suis opibus hostes ditarentur, vestes pretiosas in conspectu omnium ignis absumpsit;[7] vasa vero concupiscibilia et cetera quæ pote-

Some decide to adopt his advice, others to trust to the mercy of the besiegers.

[1] *Ipse*, C.D.L.; om. B.

[2] *tribulationibus*, C.L.; *olim tribulationibus*, B.D.

[3] *hæc*, B.C.D.R.; *hoc*, L.

[4] *plurimi*, B.D.L.R.; *multi*, C. The authority of the Stowe MS. is unfortunately wanting. C., a manuscript which preserves many words which the writers of the others have misread or neglected, here furnishes *multi*, which the sense of the passage taken in connection with "*secesserunt igitur plurimi*" a few lines further on would seem to approve as the better reading.

[5] For *præ* B. has *post*.

[6] *experiri*, B.D.L.; *experturi*, C.

[7] *absumpsit*, B.C.D.; *assumpsit*, L.

A.D. 1190.

Those of the more desperate section destroy their goods, set fire to the castle, and then cut each other's throats (during the night, 16–17 March).

rant[1] per ignem transire, artificiosa invidia pudenda repositione damnavit. Quibus actis, et igne tectis immisso qui in solidiori materia, dum res horrenda fieret, morose nutriretur, eorum quoque, qui ab eis vitæ amore secesserant, vitam correpturus, jugulos ad victimam præparabant. Dictante vero inveterato[2] illo dierum malorum, ut viri quibus constantior esset animus propriis uxoribus atque pignoribus vitam adimerent, famosissimus ille Joceus Annæ uxori carissimæ cultro præacuto guttur incidit, et propriis quoque filiis[3] non pepercit. Cumque hoc et ab aliis viris factum esset, infelicissimus ille senior Joceum, eo quod esset honorabilior ceteris, jugulavit. Absumptis[4] mox omnibus una cum magistro erroris, immisso, ut dictum est, a morituris igne, interiora turris ardere cœperunt. Qui vero vitam elegerant, incendio a suis, ut et ipsi vel inviti commorerentur, concinnato, prout poterant resistebant, quædam scilicet sibi turris defendentes extrema in quibus minime urerentur. Stupendus plane irrationalis ille rationalium[5] in semetipsos furor. Verum qui Josephi de Judaico bello legit historiam satis intelligit ab antiqua Judæorum superstitione, cum forte tristior casus incumberet, illam nostri temporis manasse vesaniam. Mane autem facto cum populus frequens ad expugnandam arcem concurreret, miseræ illæ Judæorum reliquiæ stantes ad propugnacula nocturnam suorum cladem voce lacrimabili declararunt, et ad

Cf. Daniel, vii. 9, 13, 22.

The survivors offer to accept Christianity.

[1] *quæ poterant*, B.C.D.R.; *quæ non poterant* (by interlineation of *non*), L. The authority of the Stowe MS. is again wanting. It is evident however that the author meant to say that the Jews destroyed what fire would touch, but could only defile vessels of metal, &c., which would pass through the flames unhurt.

[2] B. has *inveterate*.

[3] *filiis*, C.D.L.; *filiam*, B.

[4] *absumptis*, C.D.L.; *assumptis*, B.

[5] *rationalium*, B.C.D.L.; *irrationalium*, R.

oculatam[1] tanti piaculi fidem exstincta cadavera[2] muro devolventes, talia proclamarunt: "En corpora "infelicium, qui mortem sibi furore nefario conscive-"runt; et ut nos idem facere detrectantes, Chris-"tianamque potius clementiam experiri volentes, vi-"vos[3] incenderent,[4] ignem interioribus turris hujus[5] "morientes immiserunt. Sed servavit nos Deus et "a fratrum nostrorum vesania, et ab ignis periculo, "ut a vobis ulterius in religione minime discrepe-"mus. Vexatione enim dante intellectum, Christia-"nam cognoscimus veritatem, et requirimus carita-"tem; parati, quod a nobis soletis exigere, sacro "baptismate ablui, et pristinis ritibus abdicatis, ec-"clesiæ Christi uniri. Suscipite fratres ex[6] hosti-"bus, ut una vobiscum in Christi fide et pace viva-"mus." Talia illis[7] lacrimose loquentibus, nostrorum plurimi et exstinctorum vesaniam cum ingenti stupore horrebant, et cladi reliquos miserabantur: at conjuratorum principes, e quibus erat quidam[8] Ricardus, vero agnomine Mala-Bestia,[9] homo audacissimus, nulla super miseris illis misericordia movebantur. Mitia[10] tamen cum eis in dolo loquentes, et speratam gratiam sub fidei[11] testificatione pollicentes, ut egredi minime vererentur, mox ut egressi sunt, hostiliter comprehensos, et[12] baptismum Christi constanter postulantes, lanistæ crudelissimi peremerunt. Et de his quidem, quos ita plusquam belluina illa confecit immanitas,[13] incunctanter dixerim, quia[14] si in

A.D. 1190.

They are deceived with fair words, and are slain as they emerge from the castle.

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1 *oculatam*, B.D.L.; *occultam*, C.

2 *cadavera*, B.D.L.; *cadavera mortuorum*, C.

3 *vivos*, C.D.L.; *ut nos*, B.

4 *incenderent*, B.D.L.; *in esse cederent*, C.

5 *hujus*, C.D.L.; *hujusmodi*, B.

6 *ex*, B.C.D.R.; *pro*, L., by interlineation.

7 *illis*, C.D.L.; *in illis*, B.

8 *quidam*, B.D.L.; om. C.

9 Richard Malebysse. The Chron. de Melsa, i. 251, gives the names of three other leaders.

10 *mitia*, B.D.L.; *mitius*, C.

11 *fidei*, B.D.L.; om. C.

12 B. omits *et*.

13 *immanitas*, B.D.L.; *humanitas*, C.

14 See note 2, p. 76.

A.D. 1190. petitione sacri baptismatis fictio defuit, ejus nequaquam effectu fraudatos sanguis proprius baptizavit. Sive autem ficte sive non ficte sacrum petierunt[1] lavacrum, inexcusabilis est execranda illa crudelitas lanistarum. Quorum proculdubio primum scelus est, quod ordinatam potestatem non habentes, humanum, quasi aquam, sanguinem effundere præsumpserunt: secundum, quod livore magis malitiæ quam zelo justitiæ sævierunt:[2] tertium, quod Christianam gratiam petentibus inviderunt: quartum, quod miseros ut egrederentur ad victimam mentiendo fefellerunt. Horrenda plane et fœda tunc rerum erat facies in urbe, et circa arcem passim jacentibus tot miserorum cadaveribus inhumatis. Cæde vero completa, conjurati continuo cathedralem ecclesiam adeuntes, monumenta debitorum, quibus Christiani premebantur, a Judæis fœneratoribus regiis ibidem reposita, ab exterritis custodibus violenta instantia resignari fecerunt, et tam pro sua quam et[3] aliorum multorum liberatione eadem profanæ avaritiæ instrumenta in medio ecclesiæ flammis sollemnibus absumpserunt. Quibus actis, illi ex conjuratis, qui signum Domini acceperant, ante omnem quæstionem iter propositum arripuerunt: ceteri vero in provincia sub quæstionis formidine remanserunt. Sane tempore Dominicæ passionis, pridie scilicet ante Dominicam Palmarum, talia Eboracæ contigerunt.[4]

The author's remarks on the cruelty and treachery of the people of York towards the Jews.

Those of the crusaders who shared in the massacre disappear before any enquiry is set on foot. The massacre took place on March 17.

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[1] *petierunt*, L.; *petierint*, B.C.D.R.

[2] *sævierunt*, C.D.L.; *servierunt*, B.

[3] *et*, B.C.D.L.; *pro*, R.

[4] The Pipe Rolls for 2, 4, and 5 Ric. I. contain interesting entries as to matters connected with this affair.

Cap. XI.

De ira regis in interfectores Judæorum.

Res Eboracæ acta mature trans mare defertur ad principem; qui Judæis, post motum Lundoniensem, pacem et securitatem in regno suo lege sanciverat. Indignatur et fremit, tum pro læsione regiæ majestatis tum pro tam magna fisci jactura; fisco enim competit quidquid Judæi, quos fœneratores constat esse regios, in bonis habere videntur. Mox dato mandato ad Eliensem[1] episcopum, cancellarium scilicet regium et regni præpositum, ut tanti ausus patratio condigna plecteretur vindicta, idem episcopus, homo ferocis animi et gloriæ cupidus, circa Dominicæ Ascensionis[2] sollemnia Eboracam civitatem cum exercitu adiit, et formidissimam[3] civibus intulit quæstionem. Porro principales et famosi rerum gestarum auctores, relictis omnibus quæ habebant in provincia, a facie ejus transfugerunt in Scotiam. Civibus vero constanter proclamantibus, ea, de quibus invidiam sustinebant, suo neque voto neque consilio vel opere accidisse, neque per suam mediocritatem effrenatum indisciplinatæ multitudinis impetum impediri potuisse, tandem cancellarius, mulcta pecuniaria[4] singulis juxta modum fortunarum imposita, satisfactionem, ne severius plecterentur, accepit.[5] Vulgus autem promiscuum et infinitum, cujus zelus inconditus dirum illud maxime patrarat negotium, in judicium vocari aut discuti minime potuit. Itaque cancellarius, amoto illo qui provinciæ administrationem habuerat,[6] cum non posset

A.D. 1190.

The bishop of Ely is despatched to York, by the king's orders.

He reaches York with an armed force about May 3. Many of the ringleaders retire to Scotland.

The citizens are compelled to pay a fine.

Longchamp displaces the sheriff.

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[1] *Eliensem*, C.D.L.; *Iliensem*, B.

[2] Bened. Petrob. (ii. 108) gives the date merely as "post Pascha."

[3] *formidissimam*, L.; *fortissimam*, B.C.D.R.

[4] C. reads *pecunia* by alteration from *pecuniaria*.

[5] Pipe Roll, 5 Ric. I.: "Cives "Eboraci reddunt computum de x. "marcis pro habendis obsidibus "suis qui fuerunt Norhantoniæ "propter occisionem Judæorum."

[6] John Marshall. Osbert Longchamp took his place.

A.D. 1190. efficacius de jure mandatum exsequi regium, abiit incruentus; nec usque ad hunc diem pro illo Judæorum exitio aliquis supplicio est addictus.

Cap. XII.

Quomodo reges venerunt Siciliam, et quomodo rex Anglorum expugnavit Messaniam.[1]

A.D. 1190. King Richard reaches Marseilles. He sets sail (Aug. 7).

Sequenti æstate, anno a partu Virginis M°C° nonagesimo, illustres Francorum et Anglorum reges iter Ierosolymitanæ profectionis ingressi, cum apparatu congruo et exercitu copioso convenerunt Massiliam;[2] factaque ibidem mora necessaria, rex quidem Francorum autumnali tempore prior cum suis copiis secundis flatibus navigavit Siciliam, rex vero Anglorum post discessum regis Francorum diebus aliquot Massiliæ demoratus, tandem classe soluta, cum parente sibi exercitu mari se credidit, flabrisque arridentibus in insulam eandem devenit. Verum qui prior advenerat,

Reaches Messina (Sept. 23, 1190).

Messanam urbem clarissimam,[3] cum gaudio exceptus a civibus, ad hiemandum elegit; sequens vero, expositis copiis propter ejusdem urbis amplitudinem et multimodam opportunitatem, ipse quoque ibidem socialiter hiemare voluit.

The people of Messina refuse to admit him, killing some of his messengers.

Cumque hujus rei gratia quosdam ex suis præmisisset, cives unius ad se regis ingressu contenti, et duorum regum magnorum gravari hospitio renuentes, præmissos a superveniente, paucis eorum in tumultu exstinctis, cum contumelia urbe extruserunt.[4] Motus super hoc rex Anglorum, a Mes-

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[1] *Messaniam*, L.; *Messanam*, B.D.; *Mesanam*, C.

[2] *Massiliam*, B.D.L.; *Marsiliam*, C. Similar variations below.

[3] *clarissimam*, B.D.L.R.; *præclaram*, C.

[4] *urbe extruserunt*, B.D.L.; *urbem exstruxerunt*, C. This account is erroneous. Richard, who entered the city in state, was allotted quarters in the suburb. He first (Hoveden, iii. 55) demanded the release of his sister Johanna and payment of her dowry, then took a castle and assigned it for her residence, and finally seized and fortified a monastery. *After* these acts, on Oct. 3, affrays began and Messina was ultimately stormed. See *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, i. 156–63, and Ric. Divis., p. 18.

sanensibus utrum de illata injuria satisfacere dignarentur duxit quærendum. Illis vero, tam propriarum conscientia[1] virium[2] quam insignium fiducia hospitum, superbe detrectantibus satisfactionem, accensus est princeps ferocissimus ad ultionem. Itaque armari copias urbemque oppugnari præcepit. Cumque in hoc opere suos non tantum urgeret imperio verum etiam animaret exemplo, urbem, aliquamdiu a civibus simul et[3] Francis fortiter defensam, tandem potenter irrupit. Quam[4] paucis suorum amissis victor ingressus, decentem tamen in ultione modum tenuit, et motum animi triumphalis gloriæ voluptate mollivit. Civium ergo vel sera satisfactione et coacta devotione placatus, frenavit impetum, et minas remisit. Moxque pro reverentia regis Francorum urbe egressus, ejusdem illi et suis libenter cessit hospitium: ipse vero[5] munitione extra urbem constructa castrisque dispositis, ibidem cum suis copiis in omni rerum copia hiemavit. Porro rex Francorum urbis hospitæ irruptionem ad suam trahens injuriam, et pro nihilo ducens indulti hospitii gratiam, implacabilem contra regem Anglorum concepit, totisque imbibit medullis rancorem: qui nimirum occultatus pro tempore erupit suo tempore, claruitque orbi terrarum, ut suo loco narrabitur. Sane regibus in Sicilia hiemantibus, ex plurimis quoque regionibus ingentia vernum tempus cum desiderio præstolantium agmina in Dalmatia, Histria, Venetia, sub charactere Dominico hiemabant.

A.D. 1190.

King Richard storms Messina (Oct. 4).

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[1] D. has *consciam.*

[2] The Stowe manuscript, which before this point has lost two leaves (see p. 318), resumes here with the words *quam insignium.*

[3] *et*, B.D.L.S.; *et a*, C.

[4] *quam*, B.D.L.R.S.; *quamvis*, C.

[5] *vero*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

Cap. XIII.

De expeditione Teutonica, et morte imperatoris.

A.D. 1189.

The emperor Frederick sets out for Palestine (Apr. 23).

Interea Fredericus[1] imperator Teutonicus, qui anno præterito, hoc est a partu Virginis M°C°LXXX°IX°, cum filio Suevorum duce, et Germanicis copiis iter fuerat, ut superius dictum est, Ierosolymitanum ingressus, lento propter obstacula plurima gradu per superiores ducebat regiones exercitum. Prætergressus enim Pannonias, et progressus ad imperatoris Constantinopolitani provincias, cum ejusdem Christiani principis in negotio Christianissimo favorem optaret, eum paulo secus quam Saladinum invenit. Denique Græcus ille, nam Græci, cum sint Christiani, non secus immo plerumque etiam ferocius quam Sarracenos[2] abominari Latinos noscuntur, Græcus inquam ille, ut dicitur, post captam Ierosolymam, fœdus cum atrocissimo Christiani nominis hoste Saladino pepigerat, pollicens quod in terra vel mari ditionis suæ Latinorum in Syriam transitum inhiberet. Cumque imperator Latinus a Græco, Christianus scilicet a Christiano, per nuntios peteret quod olim Israel sub Moyse petierat a Seon rege Amorræo: "Obsecro te," inquiens, "ut Num. xxi. 22.
"transire mihi liceat per terram tuam: non declinabimus in agros et[3] vineas: via regia gradiemur, "donec transeamus terminos tuos:" Græcus ille impio regi in hac parte[4] simillimus, et Saladino quam Christo fidelior, concedere noluit ut Christianus exercitus simpliciter transiret per fines suos. Quamobrem Latinus imperator ad suos: "Hostem," inquit, "Christi "Saladinum quærimus, et ecce par Saladino vel potius "plusquam Saladinus hic, qui zelando pro Saladino,

The emperor Isaac Angelus refuses a passage through his domains.

[1] *Fledericus* (sic), B.D.
[2] *Sarracenos*, D.L.S.; *Saracenos*, B.C.
[3] *et*, B.D.L.S.; *neque*, C.
[4] *in hac parte*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

"zelantibus pro Christo palam obsistit: in ipsum "ergo arma contra Saladinum sumpta vertamus, ferro "nobis viam aperientes cum aliter nequeamus." Placuit hoc omnibus, ingressique hostiliter terram ditionis Constantinopolitanæ, Thessalonicam[1] urbem nobilissimam fortiter expugnatam ceperunt: et redacta in potestatem adjacente provincia, ibidem hiemandum duxerunt. Sane Christianorum, qui arma sumpserant contra Paganos, hunc motum et impetum contra Christianos, licet minus fraterne agentes, approbandum nequaquam censuerim,[2] sicut nec illud, quod Christiani Christianis[3] innoxium concedere transitum noluerunt. Denique hoc antiquis, et[4] de lege sacra sumptis probatur exemplis. Israeliticus sub Moyse populus in transitus innoxii petitione a rege[5] Amorræo, ut dictum est, repulsam passus, in eundem,[6] jubente Domino, irruit, et terram ejus possedit. Hoc forte imperator ille noster cum suis exemplum attendens, pro negato transitu Græci imperatoris terram invasit, cum aliud potius, ut credo, attendere debuisset. Scriptum quippe

A.D. 1189.

Barbarossa determines to cut his way with the sword.

Capture of (Demotica ?)

Num. xx. 14–21. est: "Misit nuntios Moyses ad regem Edom, qui "dicerent: Hæc mandat frater tuus Israel. Obsecra- "mus ut nobis transire liceat per terram tuam. Non "ibimus per agros, nec per vineas, sed gradiemur via "publica, nec ad dexteram nec ad sinistram declinan- "tes, donec transeamus terminos tuos. Cui respondit "Edom: Non transibitis per me. Dixeruntque filii "Israel: Per tritam gradiemur viam; et si biberimus "aquas tuas, dabimus quod justum est: nulla erit "in pretio difficultas, tantum velociter transeamus. "At ille respondit, Non transibitis. Quamobrem di-

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[1] An error: the *Itinerary* (p. 47) says that from Philippopolis he approached (Nov. 22) and wintered in the deserted city of Adrianople. His son took Demotica (not Thessalonica). This and the concentration of forces (Feb.) brought Isaac to terms.

[2] *censuerim*, B.C.D.S; *censuerint*, L.

[3] B. has an obscure variation here, perhaps a redundant syllable.

[4] *et*, B.D.L.S.; *hoc et*, C.

[5] *a rege*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *eundem*, C.D.L.S.; *eodem*, B.

A.D. 1190. "divertit ab eo Israel." Ecce filii Israel, sub magno propheta Moyse agentes, a fratribus suis filiis Esau in simplicis transitus modestissima petitione repulsam bis passi, nec tamen tanto excessu fraterno ad ultionem vel transitum ferro parandum impulsi, sapienter, et tanquam immemores injuriæ, ab ingratis fratribus diverterunt. Postea vero ab Amorræo, qui non erat de genere Abrahæ, in re non dissimili unam passi tantum[1] repulsam, in ultionem justissimam, jubente et favente Domino, exarserunt. Consultius igitur imperator Christianus fecisset, si ab inofficioso sed tamen Christiano imperatore divertens, alium in Syriam transitum, licet cum multa laboris et sumptuum jactura, quæsisset: quod utique sequens declaravit eventus.

Isaac Angelus comes to terms, and the crusaders cross into Asia Minor (Mar. 23–28).

Videns autem Græcus imperator non parum[2] contra se actum a Latinis, et ex hoc tanquam modico ferociæ eorum gustu duriora, nisi præcaveret, conjectans, fœdus cum imperatore nostro pepigit: et concesso transitu qui petebatur, de sumptibus quoque moræ, quam propter inhibitum fecerat[3] transitum, ei, dictante justitia, satisfecit. Itaque Latinus imperator cum exercitu per Constantinopolim transiens, fretum quod Brachium sancti Georgii[4] dicitur, prospere transmeavit, veniensque in Asiam Minorem, cujus pars quædam Constantinopolitanæ ditionis est, parti vero reliquæ soldanus Iconii præsidet, magnis actibus ipsi[5] soldano Turcisque jam erat terribilis. Unde idem soldanus, licet esset magnus et potens, arte tamen magis quam experientia virium imminentis impetum frangere studuit, de suscipienda, ut dicitur, Christianitate, simulatione callida cum eo agens, et pia simplicitate credulum per frequentes nuntios ambagibus longis sus-

[1] *tantum*, B.D.L.S.; *tamen*, C.
[2] *non parum*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.
[3] *fecerat*, B.D.L.S.; *faceret*, C.
[4] *Georgii*, B.C.D.S.; *Gregorii*, L.R. The Dardanelles: the army did not approach Constantinople.
[5] *ipsi*, B.D.L.S.; *Christi*, C.

pendens. Cum ergo gentilis astutia suis præstigiis ita nostros deluderet, capta paulo ante amplissima civitate Iconio, et locupletissima præda direpta, Christianus exercitus, imperatoria provisione bipertitus, in castris excubabat amne medio interlabente discretis. Et[1] parte quidem exercitus filio Suevorum duci commissa, parti vero reliquæ ipse imperator sollicitudinem debitam impendebat,[2] cum repente virum tantæ claritatis, occulto Dei judicio, tristissimus, et quem nemo vereri poterat, mundo[3] casus ademit. Cum equo[4] sedens, filium visendi et alloquendi studio, cum paucis amnem vellet medium transmeare, dissuasus a comitibus ne se vir tantus petulanter in amnem daret incognitum, extrema eum sorte urgente, non acquievit, sed imperialis oblitus gravitatis, in gurgitem, fallaci brevitate contemptibilem, equo stimulato prosiliens, intuentibus comitibus nec subvenire valentibus, in momento suffocatus interiit. Quidam autem dicunt[5] quod in æstu, refrigerii vel lavacri gratia, incautius in flumen descenderit, et subito ab aquis[6] imperialis reverentiæ nesciis[7] absorptus sit. Sed sive hoc verum sit sive illud, constat quod in illo flumine modico in-
Ps. lxviii. 1. traverunt aquæ usque ad animam ejus. O abyssus
Ps. xxxvi. 16. multa[8] judiciorum Dei! vir tantus, et[9] qui divino quodam fervore,[10] relictis deliciis opibusque imperii, mille se exposuerat propter Christum periculis, tam subito miseroque casu absumitur. Peccatum tamen ejus tantum et tale elucet, quod forte in[11] imperialibus non potuerit deliciis expiari, atque ideo oportuerit, ne æternaliter plecteretur, pia[12] Divinitatis provisione in

A.D. 1190.

Capture of Cogni (May 18).

Barbarossa is drowned (June 10, 1190).

[1] *et*, B.C.D.S.; *ex*, L.

[2] C. has *impendebant*.

[3] *mundo*, B.D.L.S.; *veteri* (?) *mundo*, C.

[4] *cum enim equo*, B.

[5] *dicunt*, B.C.L.S.; *dicit*, D.

[6] *subito ab aquis*, C.L.S.; *sub ab aquis*, B.; *sub aquis*, D.

[7] *nesciis* (?), D.

[8] Quoted *also* in the *Itinerarium*, p. 54, with reference to Barbaroass's death.

[9] *et*, C.D.L.S.; *ut*, B.

[10] *fervore*, B.C.L.S.; *furore*, D.

[11] For *in*, B. has *non*.

[12] C. has *pœna*.

A.D. 1190. hac vita severius castigari. Siquidem nefarii schismatis sub venerabili papa Alexandro principalis fautor exstiterat, et pacis ecclesiasticæ per imperialem potentiam multo tempore perturbator. Tandem vero perspicue dans palmam veritati, minus tamen in deliciis palatii piaculare malum defleverat. Porro ne propter hoc gravia post mortem supplicia lueret, sed potius tam grande malum momentaneæ mortis casus acerbior perfecte dilueret, illa insigni devotione, qua propter Christum, relicto imperio, tantis se immersit periculis, actum credo.

The German expedition proceeds under his son Frederick V. duke of Swabia.

The bones of Barbarossa are carried with the army and are buried at Tyre.

Death of the duke of Swabia before Acre (Jan. 20, 1191).

Sane exercitus Christianus ita stupuit doluitque de raptu principis, ut, collapsis animis, matura immanissimorum præda hostium fore videretur. Verum, resumpto paulisper spiritu, loco exstincti patris, præsenti Suevorum duci adhæsit et paruit. Qui, paterni corporis, quod post casus infelicissimi dies aliquot ægre inventum ereptumque aquis dicitur, ossibus assumptis, in multo laborum et periculorum experimento cum exercitu progressus est. Denique tantus exercitus per viam longissimam paulatim[1] bellis morbisque confectus atque imminutus, ita tandem laboris intolerantia sumptuumque penuria elanguit atque defluxit, ut, nulla re memorabili facta, contemptibiles ex eo reliquiæ Palæstinam cum duce memorato venisse dicantur. Qui, paternis ossibus apud Tyrum cum decenti honore sepultis, militiæ Christianæ, quæ Acram obsidebat, cum omni comitatu adjunctus, ibidem post modicum morbo defecit. Hunc finem occulto Dei judicio habuisse noscitur famosa illa Teutonici imperatoris expeditio.[2]

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[1] *paulatim*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[2] This chapter reads very much like a summary from memory of the account of Frederick's crusade in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls' ed. pp. 34–58). See also note 8 on p. 329.

Cap. XIV.

De insolentia et fastu cancellarii post regis profectionem.

A.D. 1190

Affairs in England during the king's absence. The bishop of Ely made administrator of the kingdom (June 6). He obtains by purchase the office of papal legate (June 5), and exhibits the proofs of his new authority unexpectedly before a general council in London (Oct. 13). The archbishoprics being vacant no check on his tyranny existed.

Reflectendus nunc ab Oriente in nostrum Occidentem videtur sermonis procursus, atque exponendum qualis regni Anglici in regis absentia status exstiterit. Idem rex, ut superius dictum est, ad Orientalem egrediens expeditionem, Eliensi episcopo cancellario suo vices suas in administratione regni commiserat, cum ejusdem regni ossibus, id est, munitionibus regiis. Qui episcopus, cum esset audaciæ astutiæque pæne singularis,[1] gravi summa Romam transmissa vices quoque sedis Apostolicæ petiit, et tali intercessione facile impetravit. Quod[2] astute dissimulans, tanquam pro regni negotiis convocavit episcopos et regni majores, ingerensque incautis indultæ sibi legationis instrumentum, cum fastu sollemni sedis se Apostolicæ legatum ostentavit, multis quidem ægre ferentibus, sed obsistere nequaquam valentibus. Denique ut[3] ad summum evectus videretur, et tam regno quam ecclesiæ conspicuus apparens, æmulantium oculis dolorem injiceret,[4] generale ex Anglia concilium, terrore maximo Lundoniis congregatum, quanto gloriosius tanto et[5] vanius celebravit, sub specie scilicet religionis et obtentu quasi ecclesiasticæ utilitatis agens propriæ negotium vanitatis. Quod utique tanto fortius tutiusque[6] agebat quanto metropolitanis non exstantibus[7] infirmiorem contra se episcoporum æmulationem vel indignationem videbat. Quippe sedes Eboracensis fere jam per decennium vacaverat, et novus ejusdem sedis elec-

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[1] B. has *singularisque.*

[2] *quod,* C.D.L.S.; *quo,* B.

[3] *ut,* C.D.L.S.; *cum,* B.

[4] B. has *injicerent.*

[5] *et,* B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[6] *fortius tutiusque,* B.D.L.S.; *fortiusque,* C.

[7] *exstantibus,* B.D.L.R.S.; *exsistentibus,* C.

A.D. 1190 tus in transmarinis partibus constitutus, ipso impediente nondum canonicæ poterat consecrationis munus promereri.[1] Porro Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui juxta sedis propriæ prærogativam Apostolicis in Anglia vicibus præditus, signum Domini sub rege Henrico susceperat, et post coronationem regis Ricardi, juxta devotionis suæ debitum, in partes abierat Orientis, Tyrum deveniens, ante regum adventum ibidem hominem exuit. Itaque homo ille, sublato omni obstaculo quominus ambularet in magnis et mirabilibus super se, fretus duplici, id est,[2] Apostolica simul[3] et regia, potestate, clero pariter et populo arrogantissime præsidebat. Et sicut de quodam scriptum est, quod utraque manu utebatur pro dextera,[4] sic et ille ad faciliorem molitionum suarum efficaciam utraque potestate utebatur pro altera. Ad cogendos quippe vel coercendos potentes laicos, si quid forte ex seculari potentia minus poterat, Apostolicæ id ipsum potestatis censura supplebat; si autem ex clero forte quisquam voluntati ejus obsisteret, hunc proculdubio frustra pro se secundum canones allegantem, seculari oppressum potentia coercebat. Nec erat qui se absconderet[5] a calore ejus, cum et secularis in eo virgam vel gladium Apostolicæ potestatis timeret, et ecclesiasticus nulla se ratione vel auctoritate contra imminentiam regiam tueri valeret. Denique de potestate in immensum glorians, ut et metropolitanæ ecclesiæ, quæ adhuc ejus[6] videbantur aspernari excellentiam, experirentur potentiam, ad utramque tremendus accessit; et primo quidem ad Eboracensem, cujus infestissimus erat electo: præmissoque cum terroribus ad clericos ejusdem ecclesiæ mandato, ut sibi tanquam Apostolicæ sedis legato

His astute use of his double authority.

His enmity towards the archbishop elect of York.

[1] *consecrationis munus promereri*, B.D.L.S.; *ad consecrationis munus promoveri*, C.

[2] *id est*, B.D.L.R.S.; *idem*, C.

[3] *simul*, C.D.L.S.; *scilicet*, B.

[4] R. Divis., p. 14, also applies this quotation to Longchamp.

[5] B. has *abscondit*.

[6] *ejus*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

sollemni more occurrerent,[1] cum illi adversus eum appellandum duxissent, appellationi ad superiorem potestatem factæ non detulit; sed appellantibus optionem dedit ut aut jussa complerent, aut tanquam rei majestatis in carcerem[2] regium truderentur. Territi ergo paruerunt: et ne mutire quidem ulterius contra eum audentes, tanquam triumphanti quantum voluit honoris et gloriæ dissimulata[3] tristitia impenderunt. Præcentor vero ejusdem ecclesiæ paulo ante declinaverat, ut non videret quod absque animi tormento videre non posset. Quo ille comperto, sæviens in absentem tanquam in rebellem, motu implacabili per satellites proprios rebus eum omnibus spoliavit: deprædato quoque[4] archiepiscopatu atque in fiscum redacto,[5] triumphator inclitus abiit; ac non multo post de Cantuariensibus, cum nemo illi jam auderet obsistere, non dissimiliter triumphavit.

A.D. 1190.

He confiscates the temporalities of the see of York.

Utramque ergo sedem metropolitanam habens substratam,[6] utraque usus est ut voluit. Denique ipsum illo tempore in Anglia et plusquam[7] regem experti sunt laici, et plusquam summum[8] pontificem clerici; utrique vero tyrannum importabilem. Quippe duplicis occasione potestatis duplicem indutus tyrannum,[9] solis complicibus et cooperatoribus suis innoxius, ceteris indifferenter non tantum pecuniarum ambitu verum etiam dominandi voluptate erat infestus. Fastus ejus fere in omnibus plusquam regius erat. Orientalium more regum tanquam in expeditione jugiter positus, armatorum circa cubiculum suum habere excubias

His pride, extravagance and tyranny.

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[1] *occurrerent*, B.C.L.S.; *occurrent*, D.

[2] B. and D. have *carcere*.

[3] B. has *dissimulatam*.

[4] *deprædato quoque*, B.D.L.S.; *deprædatoque*, C.

[5] Newburgh fails to see Richard's grasping hand in this.

[6] *substratam*, B.D.L.S.; *subtractam*, C.

[7] *et plusquam*, B.D.L.S.; *id est*, C.

[8] *summum et plusquam summum*, C.

[9] *importabilem . . . . tyrannum*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1190. voluit. Procedebat[1] cum[2] mille equis et plerumque etiam numerosius. Legationis suæ nomine hospitia a cunctis per Angliam exegit monasteriis; et a minoribus quidem, quæ pondus hospitii ferre non poterant, certa, id est, octo vel quinque marcarum summa redimi hospitia censuit: majoribus vero incumbebat velut locusta. Eliensis quidem episcopatus redditus uberes esse noscuntur: sed quantus erat ipsorum modus ad immoderatissimas præsidentis expensas? Exhausit ergo expensarum profluvio non solum ærarium regium verum etiam quicquid ex regno, monasteriis, ecclesiis, quacunque occasione sive per se sive etiam[3] per officiales proprios corradere poterat. Præfecerat enim provinciis singulis, perdendis[4] magis quam regendis, nequissimos avaritiæ suæ ministros, qui non clerico, non[5] laico, non[5] religioso parcerent vel deferrent, quominus cancellarii commodis inservirent; sic enim dicebatur, cum[6] esset episcopus; et episcopi quidem in illo nullum vel tepidum, cancellarii vero nomen per universam erat Angliam insigne atque terribile.[7] Provinciarum vero præfectos, quo provincialibus essent formidini, sub prætextu publicæ provisionis, tanquam ad arcendam vel coercendam latronum audaciam, voluit habere in ministerio oberrantes armatas immanium barbarorum catervas, a quibus utique passim et impune[8] debacchantibus innumeræ in pro-

His fiscal exactions.

He causes the sheriffs to retain bands of armed men in their service.

[1] *procedebat*, C.D.L.S.; *præcedebat*, B.

[2] *cum*, B.D.L.S.; *enim cum*, C.

[3] *etiam*, D.L.S.; om. B.C.

[4] L. has *perpendis*.

[5] *non*, C.D.L.S.; *nec*, B. in both places.

[6] *cum*, B.D.L.S.; *ut*, C.

[7] Arrogance appears to Newburgh the sole key to Longchamp's conduct, and he seems ignorant, not only of the oaths taken by John and Geoffrey, but of Richard's instructions, secret and open. Compare R. Divis., pp. 12, 27, 28. See especially § 18 and the latter part of § 17 on p. 15.

[8] For *impune* both B. and D. have *impucie*, corrected in the latter to *impune*. This and the fact that a passage (*see* note 9, p. 333) omitted from B. is included in D. tend to show that B. and D. are copied from a common original, but that D. (14th cent.) is not copied from B. (13th cent.)

vinciis enormitates et crudelitates patratæ esse noscuntur. Sane quoniam regni optimatibus, insolentiam fastumque ejus execrantibus, parum se credere poterat, propinquarum suarum connubiis plurimos sibi potentes et nobiles devincire curavit. Quis enim nobilium eo tempore uxorem non habens, vel filio suo sive[1] nepoti uxorem accipere cupiens, oblatam sibi aliquam propinquarum cancellarii, quarum turbam idem hujus rei gratia ex Normannia in Angliam acciverat, obviis[2] manibus non acciperet, nec præclaram affinitatem sub spe magnæ promotionis optaret? Cum ergo hoc modo astrinxisset sibi nobilium plurimos, ceteros vero vel confregisset terroribus vel arte et[3] officiis delinisset, solum tamen metuebat Johannem regis fratrem, utpote longe potentiorem ceteris et speratum regni successorem, si forte rex in illa tam laboriosa periculosaque peregrinatione deficeret: cujus utique reditus non solum incertus erat, sed etiam causis valde probabilibus desperatus. Denique, ne forte rege peregre moriente et Johanne rite succedente, propria exspiraret potestas, arte, ut[4] dicitur, agendum putavit ut Johannes jam adultus non succederet, sed per successorem tenerum longi sibi temporis potestatem pararet. Duobus itaque fratribus suis ad regem Scottorum directis, petiit ut firmissimo sibi fœdere cohæreret[5] ad præficiendum regno Anglorum Arturum[6] Britonem ipsius[7] pronepotem,[8] si forte rex peregre in fata concederet, eo quod illi potissimum, nato scilicet ex Geofrido fratre regis majore, successio regni competeret; protestans regem literis ex Massilia[9] sive Sicilia ad

A.D. 1190.

Marries his female relations to English nobles.

Prince John alone is dreaded by him.

Secret treaty between Longchamp and the king of Scotland in favour of prince Arthur.

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[1] *sive*, C.D.S.; *vel*, L.; B. omits *non habens . . . uxorem*. One of Longchamp's sisters, Richenda, married Matthew de Cleres, warden of Dover Castle, another married into the Devereux family.

[2] B. and D. have *obiciis*. The word in S. might easily be so read.

[3] *et*, C.D.L.S.; *vel*, B.

[4] *ut*, B.C.L.S.; *vel*, D.

[5] *cohæreret*, C.; *coharerent* with the *n* expuncted, L.; *cohærerent*, D.S.; *coercerent*, B.

[6] C. has *Arturo*.

[7] *ipsius*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[8] Should of course be *nepotem*.

[9] *Massilia*, B.D.L.S.; *Marsilia*. C.

A.D. 1190? se directis Arturum nepotem suum, si forte ipsum non reverti contingeret, regni successorem designasse, et ut illi, adhuc paulo amplius quam quinquenni,[1] regnum usque ad annos viriles servaretur mandasse. Hoc quidem mysterium inter duos illos potentes occultis tractatum susurriis non diu latuit Johannem. Qui conceptum rancorem subtili pro tempore cautela dissimulans, suæ parti quoscunque poterat prudenter allicere, artemque arte eludere studuit.

Prince John detects the negotiation.

Cap. XV.

Quare rex Rothomagensem[2] archiepiscopum de Sicilia in Angliam[3] miserit.

A.D. 1191. Dum[4] talia in Anglia per unius hominis ausus insolentissimos gererentur, regi in Sicilia hiemanti universa fideli multorum innotuere relatu. Qui mox Galterium Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, virum prudentem et modestum, qui cum ipso hiemabat, direxit in Angliam, eum regii auctoritate rescripti cancellario per omnia in[5] administranda rerum summa consortem et collegam adjungens: ac, ne quid in eadem administratione eo non pariter disponente fieret, districte præcipiens.[6] Hugonem quoque[7] cognomento Bardulfum, virum prudentem et nobilem, misit cum eo, Eboracensi præficiendum provinciæ, in qua frater cancellarii ritu barbarico grassabatur. Verum idem cancellarius propensiore sui fiducia regia contempsit mandata, allegans optime sibi notam

The king sends the archbishop of Rouen to act as Longchamp's colleague (arrives April 27).

Hugh Bardulf is sent to supersede the chancellor's brother as sheriff of York.

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[1] This places the negotiation *after* 29th March 1192, but Longchamp's *second* expulsion was on April 3. *Quadrienni* might give about May or June 1191, a probable date. See p. 339, note 3. John is not recognised as heir by the *second* treaty.

[2] *Rotomagus* in B.

[3] B. has *Anglia*.

[4] *Dum*, B.D.L.S.; *dum autem*, C.

[5] *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[6] Benedict, ii. 213, says he did not produce the letters till Oct. 8.

[7] *quoque*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

esse principis mentem, cui[1] magis obtemperandum esset quam "sine mente sonis," literis scilicet surreptione elicitis.[2] Cumque memoratus archiepiscopus Cantuariam ire disponeret, vacantem ordinaturus ecclesiam prout a rege acceperat, cancellarius, ad ejusdem jam sedis prærogativam aspirans,[3] hac eum cito sollicitudine exuit, maturam præsumptionis pœnitudinem[4] si vel tentaret illuc contendere terribiliter comminatus. Itaque idem[5] Rothomagensis otiosus in Anglia morabatur. Cancellarius vero in regni administratione collegæ impatiens, singularis ferus Angliam depascebatur. At non diu homo insolentissimus quietam egit tyrannidem, malis adversus eum paulatim succrescentibus, auctore maxime[6] atque incentore fratre regis Johanne ob causam superius memoratam. Primi autem contra eum motus[7] talis fuit occasio.

Æneid. x. 640.

A.D. 1191.

Longchamp refuses to recognise the authority of written orders in contravention of the known wishes of the king.

The archbishop of Rouen is compelled to remain inactive.

Cap. XVI.

Qua occasione Johannes frater regis restiterit cancellario.

A.D. 1191.

Gerardus de Camvilla, vir dives et nobilis, summa non modica emerat a rege[8] castelli Lincolniensis custodiam, quæ uxori ejus jure hereditario competere videbatur, necnon et[9] adjacentis provinciæ præsidatum ad tempus certum. Rege autem in Orientali expedi-

Longchamp endeavours to remove the warden of Lincoln castle.

[1] *cui*, B.C.D.R.S.; *cui tamen*, L.

[2] See Introduction to the Rotuli Curiæ Regis p. lxii. as to the superiority at this date of oral declarations over written instruments. Ric. Divis., p. 15, speaks of Richard's contradictory mandates.

[3] See Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 38.

[4] *pœnitudinem*, B.D.R.S.; *plenitudinem*, C.L.

[5] *idem*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[6] *maxime*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[7] *Primi . . . . motus*, B.D.L.S.; *primitus autem contra eum*, C.

[8] *a rege*, B.C.L.S; *arcem*, D.

[9] *et*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

A.D. 1191. tione posito, cum fere nullus reditum ejus speraret,[1] cancellarius, fere universis per Angliam munitionibus regiis in ejus potestate consistentibus, arcem quoque Lincolniensem ad suam ordinationem traducere voluit; nactusque occasionem, vel veram vel subornatam, prædicto Gerardo, præsidatu prius spoliato, arcem mox resignare præcepit. Ille vero, necessitate cogente, ad Johannem se contulit, ejusque favore fretus jussionem sprevit. Indignatus cancellarius, eandem arcem obsessurus, ex subjectis provinciis propere[2] cogit exercitum. Optimatum autem plurimos habens suspectos, et non frustra eos conjiciens pronioris esse studii ad Johannem, profusioribus sollicitatam stipendiis transmarinam accersit militiam. Cujus tamen adventum homo fervidus et moræ impatiens minime præstolatur; sed civitatem Lincolniam cum ingentibus copiis ingressus, arcem pervicaciter obsidet,[3] et[4] conficiendis cum festinatione machinis sumptuosum laborem impendit. Sane illo circa obsidionis negotium[5] occupato, Johannes cum suis[6] super munitiones regias, scilicet de Notingeham et Tikehil,[7] improvisus irruit, easque viris et victualibus parum munitas inveniens, bidui negotio comprehendit.[8] Tunc, crescente fiducia, superbo denuntiavit obsessori ut vel soluta obsidione recederet, vel certe se ad excipiendum ejus in proximo impetum cautius præpararet. Sciens ille optimatum plurimos, qui secum esse videbantur, animo esse cum Johanne, confusus abscessit, et post dies paucos unum ex cornibus suis fractum esse, id est, legationis suæ officium per mortem Ro-

The warden invokes the assistance of prince John.

Longchamp sends for mercenaries, but also at once besieges Lincoln castle.

John seizes Nottingham and Tickhill, and orders the chancellor to raise the siege.

News of pope Clement's death (April 10) arrives, and the chancellor's legateship thus expires.

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[1] B. has *spiraret*.
[2] *prope* in B.
[3] *obsidet*, B.D.L.S.; *obsedit*, C.
[4] *et*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.
[5] L. has *negotiis*.
[6] *suis*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.
[7] *Tikehil*, C.L.S.; *Tichehill*, B.; *Tichehil*, D.
[8] For sequel as to Camvill see Hoveden, iii. 242. He was a partisan of John. See Ric. Divis., p. 30.

A.D. 1191.

First treaty with John (at Winchester April 25?)

Cf. Ric. Divis., p. 33.

mani pontificis exspirasse,[1] cognovit. His territus, amicis mediantibus sollemne cum Johanne colloquium habuit, et quibus potuit conditionibus pacem cum eo fecit. Mox vero militiam illam quam accersire curaverat transmarinam in Anglia[2] applicuisse atque adventare cognoscens, resumpto spiritu resiluit a pactis, et protestatus est vel se vel Johannem ex Anglia propellendum, tantam scilicet regni latitudinem duobus tam grandibus, immo tam tumidis, significans non sufficere capiendis. Tandem tamen inter eos facta est pax[3] conditionibus novis: dum ille, sicut dicitur, Johanni satisfaceret, abjurata parte Arturi, et cautione præstita quod Johanni tanquam justo heredi munitiones regias redderet, si forte rex ab Orientis partibus non rediret. His actis, Johannes pro tempore quievit. Cancellarius vero, fastu agens solito, tyrannum non exuit. Solum enim tanquam alter Herodes metuebat Johannem, et audito eo multa faciebat, et quidem non libenter sed plane reverenter eum audiebat.

Longchamp concludes a second truce with John (July 28?), promising to renounce the cause of Arthur.

Cap. XVII.

De captione Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et expulsione cancellarii.

A.D. 1191

Geoffery, archbishop elect of York, receives the pallium before consecration.

Interea Geofridus[4] Eboracensis electus in transmarinis partibus constitutus, ordine præpostero ante pontificalem consecrationem insigne metropolitani, id est pallium, a Romano pontifice petiit et accepit. Consecratio vero ejus post acceptionem pallii diuscule[5] dilata est, impedientibus eum[6] per objectiones varias

[1] B. originally had *exspirante*.

[2] *Angliam* in L. R. Divis., p. 32, says Welsh mercenaries.

[3] Canon Stubbs shows that Benedict, ii. 207, refers to a second siege, and that this second treaty (which did not recognise John as heir) was on 28 July. See Hoveden, iii. 135

[4] *Geodfridus*, C.

[5] *diuscule*, C.D.L.S.; om. B

[6] *eum*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

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adversariis plurimis, et maxime memorato cancellario. Veruntamen per instantiam clerici sui Symonis[1] Apuli, viri prudentis et literati, tandem invaluit; et impetrato Cœlestini papæ, qui Clementi successerat, ad archiepiscopum[2] Turonensem rescripto, ut ei, non obstante vel appellatione vel occasione qualibet, manus imponeret, Turonis sollemniter est consecratus anno a partu Virginis M°C° nonagesimo I°, mense Augusto. Quod ubi comperit principalis insectator ejus cancellarius, mox per satellites proprios Eboracensis archiepiscopi tyrannice possessiones invasit, et præter res immobiles, cetera improbus dilapidator vel potius deprædator abrasit. Portus quoque caute custodiri præcipit, ne forte illi liber esset in[3] Angliam ingressus vel ad ecclesiam suam accessus. Ille vero nihilominus adveniens,[4] apud Doveram confidenter applicuit; sed majorem in terra quam in mari procellam invenit. Custos enim castri Doverensis, habens in conjugio germanam cancellarii, appulso progressum inhibuit, atque ejus ingressum citissimis cancellario nuntiis indicavit. Qui ferocis animi motum nequaquam dissimulans, præcepit eum rebus nudatum omnibus monasterio Doverensi, in quo interim morabatur, abstrahi, et in arce Doverensi custodiæ mancipari. Venientes ergo missi a tyranno satellites, vehicula et clitellas, et quæcunque ejus vel clericorum ejus erant, diripuerunt: eumque in ecclesia invenientes, nec personæ clarissimæ, nec sacrati[5] loci reverentiam habuerunt; sed a venerabili altari violenter avulsum, et ab ecclesia contumeliose extractum[6] una cum clericis suis castello intruserunt. Et ille quidem servabatur in carcere. Fama vero enormitatis hujus discurrens, et

He is consecrated at Tours, Aug. (18).

The chancellor endeavours to prevent Geoffrey from landing in England, but he nevertheless arrives (Sept. 14).

Geoffrey is robbed of his property and imprisoned in Dover castle.

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[1] *Symonis*, D.L.S.; *Simonis*, B.C.
[2] *archiepiscopatum* in C.
[3] *in*, C.L.S.; *vel in*, B.D.
[4] C. has *veniens*. See R. Divis., pp. 15, 34. Geoffrey had sworn to absent himself for three years.
[5] *sacrati*, B.D.L.S.; *sacri*, C.R.
[6] C. has *abstractum*.

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quasi gradiens super pennas ventorum, in brevi Angliam replevit. Majores in cancellarium fremunt, minores eidem mala imprecantur, universi votis communibus tyrannum detestantur. Johannes maxime de fratris captivitate doluit; atque ad ejus non tantum liberationem sed etiam ultionem justissimo motu exarsit. Itaque festinanter congregatis ex omni terra ditionis suæ necnon et[1] ex regione Walliarum[2] ingentibus copiis properabat.[3] Cui mox accessere Wintoniensis episcopus et barones plurimi, comitesque nonnulli cum militia copiosa: nec defuere episcopi Bathensis et Cestrensis,[4] qui paulo ante principales cancellarii complices et fautores exstiterant, sed tyrannicis ejus moribus et immoderato fastu offensi, cum ceteris immo præ ceteris in eum tunc linguis simul et animis sæviebant. Cancellarius vero sera pœnitudine stimulatus, quod tantam contra se flammam petulanti ausu accenderit, præcepit captivum relaxari pontificem. Qui dimissus venit Lundonias, et illatæ dolorem injuriæ abundantioribus multorum affectibus atque officiis compensavit. At non sicut ejus captione præsulum procerumque zelus excitari, ita etiam ejus potuit relaxatione sedari. Semel enim accensi animi per hanc quasi satisfactionem nequaquam deferbuere, sed ad confringenda rhinocerotis illius[5] cornua omnium vota et studia laudabili constantia convenere.[6] Ille, cum esset animi robusti et rigidi, necessitatem ad alacritatem trahens, amicorum et militum peregrinorum stipavit se copiis, stetitque in campo non longe a Windesora,[7] hostes, si forte progrediendum putarent,

John raises an army and is joined by many bishops and barons.

The chancellor, in alarm, releases Geoffrey (Sept. 26), but the movement against him proceeds.

Longchamp draws up his forces near Windsor.

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[1] *et*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *Walliarum*, B.C.L.S.; *Waliarum*, D.

[3] *properabat*, B.D.L.R.S.; *præparabat*, C.

[4] Hugh Nunant, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, see p. 394.

[5] *illius*, B.D.L.S.; *ejus*, C.

[6] See John's letter (Diceto ii. 98) appointing a meeting at Loddon Bridge for Oct. 5. See R. Divis., p. 37.

[7] *Windesora*, C.L.S.; *Wyndosora*, B.; *Windosora*, D.

A.D. 1191. paratus excipere. Verum adventantis exercitus numero et fiducia territus retrogradari cœpit. Mox quibusdam potentibus, qui cum eo esse videbantur, transeuntibus ad partes Johannis, cum ei in vicina munitione regia, scilicet[1] Windesora,[2] tutum non deesset[3] receptaculum, turbatus inopsque consilii, instantibus a tergo hostibus, cum suis omnibus profugit Lundonias. Quas ingressus, civibus, quibus paulo ante terribilis fuerat, ne sibi in illo deessent articulo humiliter supplicavit: illi vero, prioris fastus et ferociæ ejus memores, Johanni potius[4] favorem præstiterunt. Itaque spe sua frustratus, quod solum poterat, a facie hostis imminentis in arcem se regiam cum omnibus suis recepit, quorum tantus erat numerus, ut in unius turris angustiis sua illis esset multo nocivior multitudo quam hostium foris frementium fortitudo. Æstuabat turris interius compressione multitudinis inclusæ, cito evomitura quos prodendos magis quam tuendos susceperat. Denique post unam noctem egressus ad Johannem et obsessores ceteros, ille, paulo ante rhinoceros sed jam homo, humili alloquio abeundi facultatem impetravit inclusis: ipse quoque arce resignata cum ceteris per Angliam munitionibus regiis, privatus et[5] inglorius Doveram ad virum sororis concessit. Cernere erat tunc hominem modo paulo ante non contentum humano, sed pæne cogitantem super astra cœli exaltare solium suum et ascendere super altitudinem nubium, dejectionis suæ dedecus ita pati ut illi animo nequaquam Siculi potuisse videantur invenire tyranni majus tormentum. Hor. Epist. i. 2.

Some of his supporters deserting he flees to London, and shuts himself up in the Tower (Oct. 7).

Is unable to defend the Tower, and resigning the royal castles (Oct. 12) he retreats to Dover.

[1] *scilicet*, C.D.L.S.; *simul*, B.

[2] *Windesora*, C.D.S.; *Wyndesora*, B.; *Wendesora*, L.

[3] *deesset*, B.D.R.S.; altered from *deesset* to *esset*, L.; *esset*, C. The former must be the correct reading, as Windsor was in his hands at the time, though resigned a few days later (Bened. Petrob., Rolls ed., Vol. II. p. 214). R. of Devizes, p. 37, says that Longchamp, through a mistake made by Henry Bisset, was misled into believing that John had gone to London.

[4] *potius*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[5] *et*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

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Cumque ad ecclesiæ propriæ regimen episcopus debe-
Isaias xxviii. 19. ret accedere, si sobrium vexatio dedisset intellectum, apud Doveram mora facta, tanquam in Anglia confusionem suam non ferens, vel certe liberius trans mare pro ultione propria aliquid moliturus, transfretare voluit. Impediri autem metuens, miri acuminis, qua omne impedimentum eluderet, artem invenit. Olim enim animo et merito exutus episcopum, habitu quoque exuens, membris non tantum virilibus, more effeminatorum, sed etiam pontificalibus, quod a seculis non erat auditum, vestem ineptissime aptavit muliebrem, caputque et majorem faciei partem velut delicata muliercula peplo obvolutus, inter plurimos deambulabat in littore, lævo brachio telam lineam, tanquam venalem, ulnam vero manu dextera præferens;[1] scilicet ut hac arte non observatus ab aliquo, navim cum ceteris transfretaturis[2] absque impedimento intraret. Verum a quodam forte agnitus proditusque, abstracto peplo, tanquam manifestus effeminatus ignominiose multumque[3] inepiscopaliter a concurrentibus est indisciplinatis pulsatus. Dehinc magistratui loci exhibitus servatusque est quousque sciretur quid super hoc decernerent regni potentes. Johannes quidem, agnito quod acciderat, hostili animo exsultavit, atque aliquid[4] in eum quo magis dehonestaretur sancire[5] voluit. At vero episcopi, justo rubore suffusi quod in persona episcopali tam fœda res accidisset, vigore ecclesiastico ut dimitteretur egerunt. Dimissus ergo, et foris quantum poterat dissimulans[6] quo intus urebatur, transfretavit.

Appears on the shore disguised as a woman, hoping thus to cross to France undetected (Oct. 18).

He is recognised and dragged before a magistrate.

Through the intervention of the bishops he is permitted to retire to France (Oct. 29).

[1] The whole of this account of Longchamp's humiliation is clearly derived from Hugh of Nunant's discreditable letter, which is given at length by Benedict of Peterborough (ii. 215).

[2] *transfretaturis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *transfretaturus*, R.

[3] *multumque*, B.D.L.S.; *vultumque*, C.

[4] *aliquid*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[5] L. has *sancire suffusi*, the latter word caught up from below.

[6] B. has *dissimulatis*.

Cap. XVIII.

A.D. 1191.

De ordinatione regni post expulsionem cancellarii et de molitionibus ejus irritis.[1]

A council of the bishops and barons held in London. The archbishop of Rouen made administrator of the kingdom.

Tyranno igitur qui regnum turbaverat propulsato, episcopi et optimates cum Johanne Lundoniis congregati de regni ordinatione tractare cœperunt. Et primo quidem ab omnibus regis Ricardi propter Christum peregrinantis fidelitate jurata, regni administrationem Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, quem ad hoc ipsum idem rex a Sicilia in Angliam miserat, decreto communi tradiderunt:[2] amotisque[3] ministris tyrannicis, provinciarum regimen melius ordinari voluerunt. Quibus actis, Anglia in cunctis finibus suis pacem recepit, et decenti sub novis cœpit rectoribus moderamine gubernari, malis plurimis, quæ sub tyranno pullulaverant atque viguerant, cum ipso pariter eliminatis, juxta illud Salomonis, "Ejice Prov. xxii. 10.
"derisorem, et exibit cum eo jurgium, cessabunt-
"que causæ et contumeliæ." Sane illi, quorum laudabili opera hæc regno Anglorum salus influxerat, molitionum illius hominis non ignari, quod scilicet regem etiam longissime positum concinnatis prævenire atque inflammare curaret mendaciis, integram rerum veritatem regi per literas significandam duxerunt, cum attestationibus signorum appendentium plurimorum. Præterea Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, cui rerum erat principaliter summa commissa, regnique episcopis visum est, vacanti primæ sedi, ad quam tyrannus aspiraverat et forte adhuc aspirabat, maturius, quo ejus spes frustraretur, providendum esse pastorem. Invitati igitur ad celebrandam ex

The monks of Canterbury are summoned to elect an archbishop. They choose (Dec. 2) the bishop of Bath.

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[1] *irritis*, C.D.L.S. ; om. B.

[2] Benedict, ii. 213, and R. Divis., p. 38, say this was at a council in S. Paul's on Oct. 8, and therefore *before* Longchamp's expulsion. It was *then* ("*tunc primum*") that Walter of Coutances produced his commission (Bened.).

[3] *amotisque*, B.C.D.R.S.; *amotis*, L.

more[1] futuri metropolitani electionem Cantuarienses, Bathensem[2] episcopum sollemniter elegerunt. Verum is[3] post modicum nondum[4] inthronizatus decessit, spemque cancellarii, sua forte electione mortuam, moriendo resuscitavit. Qui nimirum in transmarinis positus, suam, tanquam ad domini regis propter Christum peregrinantis injuriam et dedecus, expulsionem, regnique a Johanne invasionem, per nuntios in auribus domini papæ Cœlestini deploravit, redditisque sibi vicibus sedis Apostolicæ, quas sub papa Clemente habuerat, pro coercendo Johanne et revocando in pristinum statum[5] regni Anglici, rescriptum fortissimum impetravit. Verum idem rescriptum, quadam episcoporum Angliæ cautela delusum, viribus caruit.[6] Videns ergo nihil a se agi posse[7] Johanne adverso, per clandestinos nuntios collusit cum eo, ingentique summa illi vel præstita vel promissa, favorem ejus emeritus confidenter in Angliam venit.[8] Applicans autem apud Doveram, mox ut male sibi notum littus attigit, tanquam ad detergendum dedecus quod ibidem incurrerat, erectis suæ legationis insignibus gloriosus refulsit; non tamen progressus est, sed apud virum germanæ resedit donec agnosceret utrum eum metu vel regio vel Apostolico inclinati reciperent adversarii, cum jam placasset maximum omnium Johannem. Hujus rei gratia missis Lundonias nuntiis literisque ad reginam matrem regis, quæ nuper a Sicilia venerat, et tunc forte cum Rothomagensi et Eboracensi archiepiscopis et Johanne filio aliisque compluribus tam episcopis quam optimatibus Lundoniis

A.D. 1191.

He dies shortly after (Dec. 26, 1191).

Pope Celestine seeks to effect Longchamp's restoration, but the bishops render the mandate inoperative.

Longchamp tries to bribe John.

Returning to Dover (March 1192) he displays the insignia of legateship, but proceeds no further.

Queen Eleanor holds a council in London.

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[1] *ex more*, B.D.L.R.S. ; om. C.

[2] *Bathensem*, C.L.S. ; *Batensem*, B.D. ; *Bathoniensem*, R.

[3] *is*, C.D.L.S. ; *hiis*, B.

[4] *nondum*, B.D.L.S. ; *dum is*, C. Gervase (i. 511) says that he was enthroned.

[5] *statum*, B.D.L.S. ; om. C.

[6] They refused to execute the mandate, Benedict, ii. 221–5; Hoveden, iii. 151.

[7] *posse*, B.D.L.S. ; om. C.

[8] Philip's negotiations with John (Bened., ii. 236–7 ; R. Divis., 56, 57) were proceeding about this time.

A.D. 1192. consistebat, secus quam sperabat invenit. Cum enim[1] Johannes collusionem quanta poterat cautela dissimulans, mollius tamen agendo deprehenderetur[2] atque objurgaretur a matre et ceteris, tandem flexus generali subscripsit decreto.[3] Itaque universi[4] cum regina, directis ad cancellarium viris honoratis, eum tanquam regni turbatorem hostemque publicum Angliæ finibus mature excedere cum[5] interminationibus præceperunt. Denique territus et confusus recessit, siluitque gemens usque ad tempus. Quia vero quales, rege peregrinante, res Anglicæ fuerint, superiori narratione perstrinximus, nunc ad ejusdem peregrinantis acta, prout ab eis qui interfuere accepimus, explicanda veniamus.

Longchamp is directed to quit the realm.

He leaves (April 2).

Cap. XIX.

De progressu regum a Sicilia, et impedimentis[6] Christiani exercitus apud Acram.[7]

A.D. 1191.

Queen Eleanor's journey to conduct Berengère of Navarre, Richard's intended bride, to Sicily.

Igitur illustribus Francorum Anglorumque regibus in insula Sicilia sub exspectatione vernæ expeditionis hiemantibus, regina Alianoris,[8] anilis oblita ætatis, nec reputans longitudinem seu difficultatem itineris aut rigorem temporis hiemalis, dum materno duceretur vel potius traheretur affectu, a finibus terræ Siciliam venit ad filium, secum adducens nupturam illi regis Navarrorum filiam, famosæ pulchritudinis et prudentiæ virginem. Et quidem tam ineptum[9] quam et inusitatum videbatur ut in præcinctu bellorum de volup-

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[1] *Cum enim,* B.D.L.S.; *cumque,* C.

[2] *deprehenderetur,* B.D.L.S.; *ne deprehenderetur,* C.

[3] See Benedict ii. 239, also Hoveden, iii. 188. R. Divis. says, p. 58, that John received as a counter bribe from the justiciars a fine imposed on the chancellor.

[4] C. has *universis.*

[5] D. has *eum.*

[6] *impedimentis,* L.S.; *impedimento,* C.; *ipse dicatis* (sic), D.

[7] *et . . . Acram,* om. B.

[8] *Alienoris,* C.L.

[9] L. has *impetum.*

tate cogitaret, et quam uxorem duxisset mox secum ad prœlia duceret, attamen hoc in regnante juvene non tantum utilitatis verum etiam salubritatis ratio honestabat. Nam et[1] in illo articulo sobolem quærere, cum filium qui succederet non haberet, utile fuit: cumque[2] esset pro ætate et usu deliciarum lubricus, bellorum propter Christum pericula subiturus, contra maximum fornicationis periculum competenti remedio, salubri usus[3] consilio, se munivit. Adductam ergo virginem duxit uxorem,[4] eandem per maris Martisque discrimina[5] secum ducturus[6] una cum nobili vidua, propria scilicet[7] germana, Guillelmi illustrissimi olim regis Siculorum[8] relicta; quæ nimirum præclari conjugii amplissimam in Sicilia sive Calabria dotis nomine habens mercedem, eadem dote regi Tancredo absolute vendita, ut fratrem regem sequeretur, ejus in immensum auxit[9] thesauros. Adest tandem[10] longis exspectatus desideriis mensis Martius; tranquillatur mare, arridet cœlum: Christianorum ingens numerus, qui relictis ante hiemem propriis, in diversis provinciis transiturus in Syriam hiemem egerat, cum sollemni lætitia et alacritate naves[11] ascendit. Memorati quoque reges cum suis copiis classem solvunt; rex Francorum spatio dierum aliquot regem Anglorum mox secuturum præcedens, et secundis flatibus circa octavas Paschæ in Syriam veniens, Christiano exercitui, civitatem Tholomaidam, ut superius dictum est, jam fere per biennium obsidenti, totis viribus jungitur. Hujus autem exercitus, tanto tempore sub divo excubantis ad tantum negotium, tam laudanda

A.D. 1191.

Marriage of king Richard (May 12).

The expedition sails, March 1191.

The king of France reaches Acre about April 21.

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[1] *et*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *cumque*, B.C.L.S.; *cum*, D.

[3] *usus*, B.C.D.S.; *hujus*, L.

[4] The marriage took place at Limasol, in Cyprus, not before quitting Sicily, as would appear from the order of events in the text. Lent was the obstacle.

[5] *discrimina*, B.C.D.R.S.; *discrimen*, L.

[6] *ducturus*, B.D.L.S.; *perducturus*, C.

[7] *scilicet*, C.D.L.S.; *simul*, B.

[8] *Siculorum*, B.C.D.R.S.; *Siculi*, L.

[9] *auxit*, B.D.L.S.; *hausit*, C.

[10] C. has, by imperfect alteration. *tamen*.

[11] *naves*, B.C.D.L.S.; *navem*, R.

A.D. 1191.

quam[1] miranda devotio est, et illa nullis casibus sive periculis, nullis incommodis sive laboribus lassata constantia, quominus hostes atrocissimos usque ad exterminium debitum coarctarent. Civitas olim a Christianis ad summam claritatem et præcipuum robur evecta, postquam in manus impiissimi Saladini quanto minori negotio tanto manifestiori Dei judicio incidit, per ejusdem tyranni providam et sumptuosissimam operam mœnia longe firmiora, et multiplex, tanquam primos Christianorum impetus expertura, munimen accepit. Universi ejus defensores electi, nullusque in ea remissus vel languidus; et si forte quemquam debilitari contigisset, mature mutabatur. Nam propter portum, quo urbi adjuncto potiebantur[2] Pagani, inhibere non poterant obsidentes Christiani quin, captata flatuum et temporum opportunitate, quæque necessaria civitati inferrentur. Fiebant autem ab obsessoribus diversi generis machinæ arte et sumptu inani: muris enim admotæ, incendebantur ab hostibus quodam ignis genere quem Græcum dicunt: denique hoc genus arte confectum miræ esse potentiæ dicitur, nec contrario cedere elemento. Cumque urbs abundaret subsidiis, gravi plerumque penuria noster exercitus laborabat; non enim poterant nostri ad agendas prædas et comportanda exercitui necessaria egredi in regionem, Turcorum jugiter haud procul[3] observante exercitu atque omnem illis inhibente excursum; sed marino tantummodo commeatu tantus Christianus exercitus alebatur: et cum forte parcius adveheretur subsidium, famis incommodo tabescebat. Tantus autem numerus per singulos dies vel inedia vel morbis absumebatur, ut exercitus ita sensim deficiens in brevi totus absumendus videretur. Veruntamen divina quadam providentia tantis et cotidianis defectibus nec in modico minuebatur

Difficulties attending the siege of Acre.

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[1] *quam*, C.L.S.; *quam et*, B.D.
[2] B. has *patiebantur*.
[3] *procul*, B.D.L.R.S.; *longe*, C.

exercitus: nam et super illorum numerum qui ex labore propter Christum suscepto ad æternam requiem per dies singulos assumebantur, ex regionibus Christianis plures accedebant, et assumendo emeritos, ita suum Christus novo militum delectu reficiebat exercitum, ut assumptionem supplementa superarent. Præterea quædam mala interna, auctore diabolo, quantum inter nostros serpebant tantum et hostem[1] juvabant. Guido enim olim[2] rex Ierosolymorum et marchio de Monte-Ferrato, causa superius memorata dissidentes, ad exercitum venerant, atque in ipsa obsidione ita locis distincti ut animis multam[3] post se turbam trahebant, dum potentum plurimi partes oppositas divisis prosequerentur favoribus, in tantum ut religiosa Hospitalis Ierosolymitani militia in duo collegia pro studio partium scissa videretur. Principibus itaque in diversa nitentibus, exercitus minus agere poterat,[4] et Christianum lente negotium procedebat. Nonnullos quoque principum nostrorum, ut dicitur, avaritiæ tabes infecerat, clandestinis a Saladino pecuniis, cum plurimum possent, ut remissius agerent, expugnatos. His igitur causis propositum impedientibus, exercitus noster multo tempore circa urbem expugnandam[5] casso labore sudavit. Verum cum nova militia rex Francorum adveniens, fessorum auxit fiduciam, et de cetero fortius atque efficacius negotio instabatur. Denique idem marchioni propensius favorem accommodans, atque eo qui regnum Christianum perdiderat, illum qui reliquias saltem parvas salvaverat eidem regno aptiorem pronuntians, partem Guidonis pro tempore infirmavit.

A.D. 1191.

Divisions in Christian army.

Contention between Guy of Lusignan and the marquis of Montferrat.

Even the Hospitallers are split into two factions.

Some of the crusaders said to be in the pay of Saladin.

The arrival of Philip Augustus (April 20) again inspires the attack.

He favours the Montferrat party.

[1] *hostem*, B.C.D.S.; *hostes*, L.
[2] *olim*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.
[3] D. has *multa*.
[4] *poterat*, B.D.L.S.; *potuit*, C.
[5] D. has *expugnatam*.

Cap. XX.

A.D. 1191. *Quomodo rex Anglorum acquisivit insulam Cyprum.*

King Richard puts to sea (April 10).

Igitur rex Anglorum diebus aliquot post regis Francorum profectionem in Sicilia demoratus, tandem et ipse cum suis copiis et longe majori apparatu[1] non satis fidis se flatibus credidit, habens in comitatu suo naves actuarias atque onerarias plurimas. Quippe in illo hiemali otio otiosus non fuerat;[2] sed congerendis necessariis exercitui subsidiis et conficiendis machinis bellicis tempus imbelle impenderat. Dei autem ordinatissima provisione, ut consequenter claruit, oborta tempestas fatigatam compulit classem Cyprum divertere, tanquam Christianorum incolarum fideli ac tuto colligendam hospitio atque officiis confovendam. Verum majorem in portu optato quam in mari turbato turbinem offenderunt. Tyrannus enim qui eandem insulam sæva[3] dominatione annis jam plurimis presserat,[4] et imperatorium sibi in ea nomen usurparat, Christiani nominis hosti Saladino fœderatus, ipsique quam[5] Christo fidelior, licet Christianus diceretur, cum exercitu affuit, et primos fluctuum sævitia in portum coactos sævior ipse excipiens indigne tractavit, et bonis omnibus spoliatos, vix vita dignos[6] censuit; quosdam etiam redegit in carcerem inedia consumendos, regi mox affuturo non dissimilia ore terricrepo comminans. Quibus ille agnitis, justo ad ultionem zelo inflammatus, cum tota classe portum intravit. Excipitur a tyranno, et totis hinc[7] inde viribus conseritur prœlium: at non diu Græca mollities impetum susti-

Being forced by a storm to take refuge in Cyprus the crusaders are ill received by the emperor Isaac Comnenus.

He robs and imprisons those who arrive first. Richard landing his forces defeats and

[1] *longe . . . apparatu*, C.D.L.S.; *longi a majori paratu*, B.

[2] *fuerat*, B.C.D.L.S.; *fuit*, R.

[3] *sæva*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

[4] *presserat*, B.C.D.L.S.; *oppresserat*, R.

[5] *quam*, B.D.L.S.; *jam*, C.

[6] L. has *indignos*.

[7] *totis hinc inde*, C.D.L.S; *totius inde*, B.

nuit Latinorum. Victus ergo tyrannus, dum tentaret fugere incidit in manus hostium, dispersoque exercitu ejus, civitas portui imminens[1] capta est. Rex quidem primo in tyrannum mitius agere voluit, et pro sua liberatione quicquid exigebatur pollicentem, celebratis cum eo pactis relaxavit. Verum ille, libertate reddita, prævaricator pactorum, malis prioribus perfidiam sociavit. Rex vero prœmaturæ clementiæ pœnitens, investigare perfidum et persequi statuit. Ille vires resumere atque[2] exercitum cogere[3] frustra conatus, fugiebat a facie persequentis: quem tandem rex in[4] quodam monasterio delitescentem, prodentibus eum quibusdam insulanis quibus merito exosus erat, comprehendit, et vinculis justissimis innodavit. Vinciri autem jussus, dixisse fertur quod ferro vinctus cito deficeret. Ad quod rex, "Bene," ait, "loquitur, quia "nobilis est, et mori eum nolumus: sed ut vivat "innoxius argenteis astringatur catenis." Mox tota insula tyrannicis saucia moribus, sponte in ejusdem principis ditionem devotionemque concessit, cunctis illi urbibus et munitionibus necnon et opulentissimis tyranni thesauris cum unica ejus filia resignatis.[5] Quibus feliciter actis, per dies aliquot in regno novo cum victricibus copiis victoriam cum multa gloria celebrans, præclaras manubias ad Christianæ expeditionis subsidium sollicitus ordinabat. Non latuere ista Christianum exercitum qui Tholomaidam obsidebat, atque ejus cum desiderio præstolabatur accessum. Verum præclari successus audita felicitas, cui congratulandum non derogandum erat, necessariam ejus moram purgavit. Ipse vero paulo plus duobus mensibus in Cypro exactis, et rebus magnis spatio tam brevi patratis, hilares copias in Syriam traducendas ad naves revo-

A.D. 1191.

captures Isaac.

Richard liberates but is forced to pursue and recapture him.

31 May.

The whole island submits.

[1] B. omits *imminens*.
[2] *atque*, B.D.L.S.; *et*, C.
[3] *cogere* altered to *colligere*, D.
[4] *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.
[5] There are several errors here and above. A second battle was lost and, after a pretended submission, Isaac fled, Nicosia surrendered, and Isaac's daughter fell into Richard's hands. This broke his spirit, and he left the fortress of Candaira to surrender.

A.D. 1191.

King Richard resumes his voyage (June 5).

cat. Ordinata igitur, prout voluit et decuit, insula, cunctisque rite dispositis, arridentibus quoque elementis, portu egreditur, rectoque cursu Tholomaidam[1] properans, trierem maximam onerariam eminus conspicatur, quæ nimirum a Saladino missa, obsessis in Tholomaida multiplicis subsidii copiam deferebat. Quo ille comperto, jubet eam oppugnari. Verum cum non facile propter enormem posset[2] magnitudinem et virtutem defensorum, desuper tanquam ex arce pugnantium, expugnari,[3] rerum, quæ in ea erant, dispendio, expugnationis ejus compendium, rege volente,

The crusaders sink a Saracen dromond (June 7).

quæsitum est. Arte siquidem sub aquis perforata, mari per foramina latenter immisso pondere paulatim subsedit, et tandem cum omni onere demersa est in profundum. Et res quidem omnes cum parte hominum nonnulla periere; ceteri vero in naves prosiliendo hostiles, consulte hostibus quam fluctibus se credere maluere.

They reach Acre.

Classis vero regia cum salute et gaudio attigit littus optatum.

Cap. XXI.

A.D. 1191.

Quibus causis reges dissidere cœperunt[4] apud Acram.

King Richard quitting Cyprus after Pentecost (on June 5) reaches

Illustris itaque rex Anglorum post Pentecosten[5] a Cypro digressus, paucis ante sollemnia beati Baptistæ Johannis diebus Tholomaidæ, quæ Acra vulgo nunc dicitur, cum universo comitatu suo applicuit, et a cunctis principibus omnique[6] exercitu tanto[7] susceptus est gaudio quanto prius desiderio fuerat exspectatus.

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[1] This seems to be a summary of the account in the *Itinerarium* (p. 205–9). Richard first steered for Tyre, but was refused admission.

[2] *posset*, B.D.L.R.S.; *populi*, C., putting *posset* before *expugnari*.

[3] *expugnari*, B.D.L.R.S.; *posset expugnari*, C.

[4] *desidere cœperint* in B.

[5] That is, after June 2, 1191.

[6] D. has *omnibus*.

[7] *tanto*, C.D.L.S.; *tantoque*, B.

Porro regem Francorum tanta ejus gloria jam urere cœperat, et cordis sui æstus tabificos ægre dissimulabat, cum se intueretur viribus et opibus longe imparem, illum vero propter virium opumque magnitudinem et successuum claritatem excellentius eminere, et propensius coli ab exercitu, et ad ejus jam agenda omnia pendere arbitrium. Domine Jesu, seminator bone, nonne bonum semen seminasti in cordibus duorum principum istorum tanquam in agro proprio? Unde ergo ager iste tuus tam cito habuit zizania?[1] Plane inimicus hoc fecit, inimicus humani generis, plebis Christianæ tam pio studio invidens, et tantos pro Te susceptos labores cassare cupiens, bono semini sanctæ devotionis, quod manus tua seminaverat[2] in cordibus principum, ut opulentissima propter te regna relinquerent et delicias regias summis propter te laboribus atque periculis commutarent, superseminavit pestifera zizania æmulationis et contentionis, quibus tam bonum semen[3] et tam bona manu jactum infructuosum atque inefficax redderetur, te quidem, Domine, hoc ipsum juste permittente: sed permissionis hujus ratio penes te est.

A.D. 1191. Acre before June 24. (June 8). The French king is jealous of Richard's power and renown.

Cum igitur, ut dictum est, rex Anglorum a Cypro triumphator inclitus ad obsidionem venisset, mox inter ipsum et regem Francorum, quem ejus jam mordebat felicitas, manifeste dissidendi seminaria, auctore Sathana, provenerunt. Rex enim Francorum, ratione pacti inter eos peregrinationem ingressuros sollemniter habiti, quod scilicet omnem acquisitionem suam æquali inter se sorte dividerent, medietatem acquisitionis Cypriæ[4] tam in immobilibus quam et[5] mobilibus, tanquam perspicuo sibi jure competentem, exigebat. Ad hoc

He claims a half of Cyprus.

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[1] *zizania*, B.D.L.R.S.; *zizaniam*, C.

[2] *seminaverat*, B.C.L.S.; *seminavit*, R.

[3] *semen*, B.C.D.R.S.; om. L.

[4] *Cypriæ*, B.C.D.S.; *Cypri*, L.

[5] *et*, D.L.S.; om. B.; *etiam*, C.

A.D. 1191.

Richard's reply to the demand.

rex Anglorum respondebat, medietatem omnium quæ communibus acquirerent viribus illi ratione pacti competere; se propriis Cyprum viribus acquisisse; illum ea, in quibus nec modice laboravit, exigere non debere. Adjiciebat etiam, se et illum, cum peregrinationem arriperent, Sarracenos[1] solummodo aggrediendi, et ab eis quantum possent, Deo propitio, extorquendi, intentionem habuisse, et juxta hanc intentionem pactum de acquisitione dividenda constituisse.[2] Porro se Christianam insulam non ex intentione adisse, sed incidenter ad eam, causa ulciscendæ atrocis et adhuc flagrantis injuriæ, divertisse. Hoc modo illi duo altercabantur[3] potentes. Et rex quidem Anglorum patratæ acquisitionis consortium regi Francorum modis omnibus denegabat: rex vero Francorum regem Anglorum rupti fœderis et pacti irriti arguebat. Alia quoque inter eos dissidendi causa emersit. Rex Francorum cum ad obsidionem prior venisset, partes, ut dictum est, Conradi marchionis contra Guidonem olim Ierosolymorum regem propensioribus juvabat favoribus. Et cum tandem rex Anglorum post factam in Cypro moram necessariam jam adesset, nisus est eum[4] ad suam rex Francorum sententiam trahere, allegans potiorem esse paucularum saltem reliquiarum Christianæ regionis[5] salvatorem quam regni Christiani perditorem.[6] Rex vero Anglorum non acquievit, pronior in partem Guidonis, Aquitani scilicet hominis, cujus tota propinquitas sub rege agebat Anglorum. Denique allegans pro[7] eo, "Regnum," inquit, "Christianum perdidit, non "prodidit. Non enim illud sua vel nequitia vel

A second cause of dissension arises from the dispute between Conrad of Montferrat and Guy of Lusignan.

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[1] *Sarracenos*, D.L.S.; *Saracenos*, B.C.

[2] *constituisse*, C.L.S.; *constitisse*, B.D.

[3] L. has *altercantur*.

[4] *eum*, B.C.D.S.; *enim*, L.

[5] *regionis*, B.D.L.S.; *religionis*, C.R.

[6] *perditorem*, B.D.L.R.S.; *proditorem*, C.

[7] *pro eo*, B.D.L.S.; *postea pro eo*, C.

"negligentia sive ignavia hostibus prodidit, sed aliis "nequissime prodentibus, ipse inculpabilis perdidit, "proditus simul ipse perditusque cum regno, et a "suis quidem nequissime in manus hostium traditus, "Deo autem propitio liberatus. Aut ergo culpa ejus "in hac parte declaretur, aut ei, qua[1] nudari non "meruit, prærogativa servetur." Ægre tulit rex Francorum suam a rege Anglorum non approbari ac per hoc et infirmari sententiam: et tunc quidem, cum suum non posset sancire decretum, pro tempore siluit. Porro hæc dissensio majoris vel[2] indignationis vel odii fomitem ministravit. Cumque jam pars Guidonis per favorem regis Anglorum præstare videretur, memoratus[3] marchio, ejusdem regis potentiam veritus,[4] cum suis Tyrum rediit. Sane post accessum regis Anglorum exercitus Christianus contra urbem obsessam invaluit, atque infra diem tricesimum tanti temporis tantique sudoris negotium, ejusdem maxime regis ferventi potentique opera, egregie consummavit.

A.D. 1191.

[1] *qua*, C.D.R.S.; *quia*, L.; *quam*, B.
[2] *vel*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.
[3] *memoratus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *præfatus*, R.
[4] For *veritus* D. has *virtus*.

Cap. XXII.

De expugnatione Acræ, et præmaturo discessu regis Francorum.[1]

A.D. 1191.

Surrender of Acre, July 11.

The garrison, with Saladin's assent, agree to pay a ransom and to surrender the relics of the True Cross on a fixed day.

Igitur urbs insignis Tholomaida, quam nunc Acram dicunt, postquam obsidentes Christianos multo et diuturno[2] labore exercuit, tandem expugnata est anno a partu Virginis[3] M°C° nonagesimo primo, quinto[4] idus Julii, anno ex quo in manus Turcorum inciderat quarto. Denique fortissimi propugnatores ejus, cum jam Christianorum machinis mœnia cederent, cernerentque irruptionem instare hostilem, suimet,[5] quod solum poterant, providentiam habuerunt; pactique sunt principibus nostris pro vitæ suæ redemptione salutiferæ Crucis honorificam, hoc[6] est, cum mille et quingentis captivis Christianis, resignationem, necnon et pecuniam copiosam. Huic[7] suorum necessitati Saladinus, qui cum infinito[8] exercitu non longe aberat, et subvenire non poterat, auctoritatem præstitit, et ad hæc omnia persolvenda Christianis diem constituit. Itaque resignatam mox civitatem ingressus est[9] cum exsultatione et sollemni gratiarum actione exercitus Christianus. Armorum et variæ supellectilis ingens ibidem copia reperta est, escarum quoque plurimum, opumque nonnihil. Illi vero qui diu fortiter defensam ægre tandem resignaverant civitatem, sub exspectatione diei a Saladino constituti servabantur. Tunc rex Francorum delicati sibi hominis tempore belli no-

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[1] B. omits *Francorum.*

[2] *diuturno*, B.C.D.S.; *diurno*, L.

[3] *a partu Virginis*, B.C.D.L.S.; *gratiæ*, R.

[4] *quinto*, B.C.D.R.S.; *vi^to*, L. The date, according to most authorities, is 12th July.

[5] *suimet*, B.C.L.S.; *suimetque*, D.

[6] *hoc*, B.D.L.S.; *hæc*, C.

[7] For *huic* C. has *hunc*.

[8] *infinito*, B.C.L.S.; *infirmo*, D.

[9] *est*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

tam inurens, æstus causando molestiam, et quod illius terræ[1] aerem sustinere non posset publice protestatus, repatriare disposuit; quod Christiano exercitui[2] multum displicuit, et fœda res visa est personæ tanti principis: præsertim cum plurimi aliter, et forte verius, ejus interpretarentur discessum. Quippe illustris Flandriæ comes Philippus, qui cum ceteris fidelibus Christo militaturus in Syriam venerat, paulo ante expugnationem civitatis ibidem[3] piæ militiæ munus expleverat. Et quoniam idem rex vacanti Flandriæ obtinendæ inhiare videbatur, ut honestam discessionis[4] causam prætexeret, peregrini aeris mendaciter causari molestiam credebatur. Dicitur etiam[5] quod regis Anglorum, cujus propter opes longe impares non poterat æquare potentiam, non potuerit nisi oculis ægris et animo saucio specialem videre gloriam; præsertim cum illi potissimum quod jam actum erat ascriberetur, et ex hoc colligeret quicquid de cetero Christianis viribus in Orientis partibus[6] erat agendum, illi potius tanquam potentiori quam sibi ascribendum. Denique non omnino inscius quid de illo sentirent vel dicerent homines, nihilominus obstinato animo adornabat discessum. Rex autem Anglorum propter recentes dissensiones de benevolentia ejus minus confidens, coram viris honoratis, ut dicitur, quod terris suis et hominibus usque ad reditum suum foret innoxius, juratoriam ab eo exegit accepitque cautionem. Ita magnus ille rex Francorum, Christianum, cui serus advenerat, præmature relinquens exercitum, infra diem quintumdecimum[7] ab urbe expugnata, cum multo suorum, id est,

A.D. 1191.

Death of Philip count of Flanders (June 1).

The French king having designs on Flanders seeks excuses for returning to France (July 22).

Richard requires him before leaving to swear not to molest England (July 29). Return of Philip Augustus.

Cf. Ric. Divis., p. 53.

[1] *terræ*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[2] B. has *exercitu*.

[3] *ibidem*, B.D.L.S.; *idem*, C.

[4] *discessionis*, C.D.L.S.; *disentionis* (sic), B.

[5] *etiam*, B.D.L.S.; *autem*, C.

[6] *partibus*, C.L.S.; *partis*, B.D.

[7] A wrong date (*before* July 26). See the mediæval use of *infra* for *intra*.

A.D. 1191. Francorum, rubore navem conscendit et abiit; et eorum quidem plurimi qui illi deesse noluere cum illo abiere.[1] Porro dux Burgundiæ,[2] comes Campaniæ, et quique nobiliores contemplatione suæ vel famæ vel conscientiæ, vel etiam ad abolendum proprii principis dedecus, in Terra Sancta pro tempore[3] et in sancta militia persistendum duxere. Quibus nimirum ille, ut dicitur, discessurus præcepit, ut marchioni assisterent; et, quotiens se incidens præberet occasio, regi adversarentur Anglorum. Quod utique postmodum, sive regii respectu mandati sive etiam propria petulantia sive malitia, fecisse noscuntur. Unde nimirum Christianum negotium minus prosperari potuit, dum a Christianis minus sincere minusque concorditer ageretur. Cumque idem rex digressus a Tholomaida prosperis flatibus venisset Italiam, Romanum pontificem adiit, absolvi a quodam juramento, quo se contra voluntatem suam asserebat astrictum, importune, ut dicitur,[4] postulavit. Suspendit ad breve callide postulantem vir altioris ingenii, moxque, supervenientibus a Syria quibusdam, integre rem edoctus: "Illud," inquit,[5] "juramentum, quod præstitisti regi Anglorum de pace "usque ad reditum suum conservanda, quam utique[6] "princeps Christianus absque juramento conservare "deberes, nullatenus relaxamus, sed tanquam honestum et utile approbantes, auctoritate Apostolica "roboramus." Itaque deprehensus in astutia sua, et obligatior quam venerat, inglorius repatriavit. Vulgatumque[7] est apud Francos per quosdam[8] concinna-

He reaches Italy (after Oct. 10) and seeks absolution from his oath to Richard. Pope Celestine III. refuses.

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[1] *abiere*, B.D.L.S.; *adiere*. C.

[2] S. has *Burcundiæ*.

[3] *pro tempore*, B.C.D.R.S.; om. L.

[4] *ut dicitur*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[5] *inquit*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[6] D. has *utibȝ*.

[7] *Vulgatumque*, B.D.L.S.; *vulgatum*, C.

[8] *quosdam*, B.D.L.S.; *quodam*, C. See p. 366, note 1, as to that which follows.

tores mendacii, ad purgandum regis sui reditum, quod eum rex Anglorum, insidiose et nequiter quærendo animam ejus,[1] præmature contra propositum suum redire compulerit. A.D. 1191.

Cap. XXIII.

Quæ acta sint[2] a nostris[3] in Syria[4] post discessum regis Francorum.[5]

A.D. 1191.

The English rest and prepare for the coming campaign.

Igitur rege Francorum, ut dictum est, a Syria digresso, rex Anglorum in urbe capta fessum otio necessario recreabat exercitum, nec tamen in illo otio otiosus, circa reficienda, quæ machinis cesserant, mœnia sollicite satagebat. Affuit tandem dies a Saladino præfixus, quo sacri vexilli resignatio et compromissa captivorum commutatio sperabatur. Verum ille cum nostros inani exspectatione suspensos deluderet, rex Anglorum,[6] justo ignitus zelo, captivorum, qui urbe expugnata sub prætaxata pactorum forma servabantur, nobilioribus provida consideratione retentis, duo circiter millia et sexcentos pactis a parte Saladini non stantibus,[7] decollari præcepit. Quo facto, Turcorum ingens in regem proprium indignatio efferbuit, quod electos juvenes, qui pro ipso fortissime usque ad proprium discrimen sudaverant, ingratus et infidus exposuisset gladio devorandos. Denique eorum, quibus munitionum custodia credita erat,[8] dum exemplum vererentur, ita labefacti et collapsi sunt animi, ut tyrannus,[9] fere cunctis pro recenti exemplo

Saladin failing to keep his engagement Richard massacres the garrison of Acre (Aug. 20).

Epp. Ricardi Reg. (Hoved. iii. 129–33).

The Saracens enraged at Saladin's ingratitude to his men refuse to defend his fortifications.

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[1] *ejus*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[2] *sint*, B.D.L.S.; *sunt*, C.

[3] *a nostris*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[4] *in Syria*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[5] *Francorum*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Francorum a Sirya*, R.

[6] *Anglorum*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[7] *stantibus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *obstantibus*, R.

[8] *credita erat*, B.C.D.L.S.; *credebatur*, R.

[9] For *tyrannus* B. has *curamus*.

A.D. 1191. excusantibus, non habens quibus ipsas munitiones crederet, easdem tanquam consilii inops everti decerneret. Evertebantur ergo et deserebantur[1] indies per omnem provinciam munitiones nulla vi[2] nullis[3] expugnabiles machinis.

The Christian host diminishes. Some leave through lack of money, others from weariness or fear.

Sane post regis Francorum digressum[4] exercitus Domini paulatim cœpit imminui. Eorum quippe qui ad[5] obsidionem Tholomaidæ priores confluxerant multa millia, absumptis[6] opibus, dum sumptus ad persistendum minus suppeterent, necessitate magis quam voluntate repatriandum duxerunt: multi etiam[7] sumptibus abundantes, vel laborum tædio, vel periculorum metu, vel solo regis Francorum enervati exemplo, abierunt.

King Richard offers pay to those who need it and will stop.

He thus retains the duke of Austria and the count of Champagne.

Tunc rex Anglorum proprios thesauros aperiens, plurimos nobiles principesque[8] exercitus cum suis militiis, qui advectas secum opes mora productiori laudabiliter absumpserant,[9] et declarata inopia sua redire ad propria excusabiliter proponebant,[10] largis, ut in exercitu Domini persisterent, invitavit stipendiis: e quibus fuit ex imperio Teutonico dux Austriæ, qui postea tanti beneficii immemor, et cujusdam non magnæ injuriæ plus justo memor, sceleratas[11] repatrianti regi, cujus stipendiarius fuerat, manus injecit, ut suo loco monstrabitur: et dux[12] Campaniæ, qui eximiæ virtutis titulo Christianæ postmodum acquisitionis principatum promeruit, ut infra exponetur.

Having restored the de-

Denique expugnatæ civitatis mœnibus instauratis, et sufficienter refecta

[1] *et deserebantur*, B.C.D.S.: om. L.

[2] *nulla vi*, B. is perhaps in accord, but the reading is uncertain.

[3] B. has *nullius*.

[4] *digressum*, B.D.L.S.; *discessum*, C.

[5] B. has *ab*.

[6] *absumptis*, B.C.D.S.; *assumptis*, L.

[7] *etiam*, B.D.L.S.; *enim*, C.

[8] *nobiles principesque*, B.C.L.S.; *nobilesque*, D.

[9] *absumpserant*, B.C.D.S.; *assumpserant*, L.

[10] *proponebant*, B.C.D.L.S.; *proposuerant*, R.

[11] B. has *sceleratos*.

[12] Should of course be *comes*. Ric. Divis., pp. 50, 52, also speaks of Richard's bounty to these nobles.

multitudine, mense Septembri rex Anglorum, cui jam fere totus devote parebat exercitus, ad alias urbes maritimas progredi statuit. Procedebant ergo ordinate et caute[1] agmina Christiana. Porro infinitus Turcorum exercitus, duce Saladino, æquis haud procul passibus gradiebatur, ancipitem quidem prœlii eventum declinans, extremos vero nostrorum raptim aggrediens, et nonnulla re acta refugiens, ut est illud hominum genus miræ astutiæ ad nocendum, nec minus arte quam viribus pugnare assuetum. Itaque exercitus noster in multo laboris et periculi experimento pervenit Cæsaream, Christianis olim incolentibus metropolim inclitam, tunc vero hostili desolatione inanem et vacuam. Cumque ibidem modice respirasset, iter propositum cum alacritate repetiit. Et[2] primo quidem agmine procedente,[3] jamque apud Assur[4] castra metante, Saladinus, captato tempore, agmen extremum totis aggressus est viribus. Idem autem agmen per quatuor mox turmas dispositum irruentis impetum fortiter excipiens, Deo propitio, ipsum cum tremendis suis copiis enerviter fugere compulit; tantaque eo die, hoc est, septimo idus Septembris, ibidem nobilium Turcorum strages facta est quantam ab annis retro quadraginta, ut fertur, uno die Saladinus expertus non fuerat. De nostris vero ibidem occubuit Jacobus de Aveniis,[5] vir plane optimus, et meritis præcellentibus universo exercitui Christiano carissimus: qui ejusdem exercitus præclara per annos aliquot columna exstiterat, atque in proposito pie suscepto sincere et strenue perseverans, nec levem unquam maculam dederat in gloriam suam. Cujus profecto laudabili devotioni divino munere retributum est, ut in[6] omnipo-

[Right margin notes:] A.D. 1191. — Richard sets out along the coast, September (August) 1191. — Saladin's army makes a parallel march. — Arrival at Cæsarea (Aug. 31). — They reach Arsûf. — Richard gains the battle of Arsûf. Sept. 7, 1191. — James of Avesnes is killed in the battle. His virtues and prowess.

[Left margin notes:] Epp. Ric. Reg. (Hoved. iii. 129–133). — Epp. Ric. Reg.

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[1] *et caute*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

[2] Perhaps traces of a work now lost. See p. 388 and p. 396, note 5.

[3] *procedente*, B.D.L.R.S.; *præcedente*, C.

[4] *Assur*, B.C.L.S.; *Arsur*, D.

[5] *Aveniis*, L.S.; *Avenniis*, C.; *Duenniis*, B.; *Dueniis*, D.

[6] *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.R.

A.D. 1191.

tentis Dei obsequio gloriose occumberet, et mediante discrimine brevi, temporalem felicitatem, ut pium est credere, æterna mutaret. Denique luxit vehementer cum omni exercitu rex Anglorum assumptum tanquam emeritum a Rege angelorum.[1] Indeque progressus usque Joppen,[2] incursione jampridem tyrannica Christianis vacuatam civibus[3] tunc vero derelictam et desolatam ab hostibus loci opportunitate conspecta, eandem[4] totis cœpit viribus instaurare. Audiens autem Saladinus quod Ascalonam oppugnare disponeret, eandem clarissimam civitatem, et Tholomaida, quæ longo tempore exercitum fatigaverat Christianum, multo firmiorem, subita eversione damnavit. Tantus eum post recentem suorum cladem Christianæ constantiæ terror invaserat, atque ita Turcorum animos eorum, qui apud Tholomaidam in manus Christianorum inciderant, recens exemplum præstrinxerat![5] Urbes quoque reliquas et castella terræ illius, præter Sanctam Civitatem et munitiones paucissimas, complanavit, totamque provinciam, abrasis bonis omnibus, inutilem hostibus[6] reddidit. Nec jam aliquid audendum putabat experientia virium,[7] sed nocebat insidiis, et incessanter abscondebat tendiculas fraudium. Nostri quoque post tam læta[8] principia nihil jam magnum et memorabile agere poterant propter internum discordiæ malum quo languebant. Principes enim non cohærebant, sed mordaci æmulatione dissentiebant ab invicem: nec poterant in commune[9] consulere, studiis in diversa nitentibus contraria decernentes. Denique Conradus, marchio et princeps famosissimæ firmissi-

King Richard proceeds to Joppa (Sept. 10).

The fate of the garrison of Acre indirectly obliges Saladin to dismantle Ascalon, a stronger post even than Acre.

Saladin razes most of the fortified cities, and devastates the country.

He wages desultory warfare.

Factions among the crusaders.

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[1] B. has *Anglorum.*

[2] *Joppen,* B.D.S.; *Jopen,* C.L.

[3] B. has *quibus* for *civibus.*

[4] *eandem,* B.D.L.S.; *tandem,* C.

[5] *præstrinxerat,* B.C.D.L.S.; *perstrinxerat,* R.

[6] *hostibus,* B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[7] *aliquid . . . virium,* B.C.D.L.S.; *aliquod audendum putabat experimentum virium,* R.

[8] D. has *lætam.*

[9] *in commune,* B.D.L.R.S.; *communiter,* C.

mæque urbis Tyri, adjuncto sibi duce Burgundiæ et nobilibus Francorum cum subjectis copiis, regi adversabatur Anglorum æmulanti pro Guidone olim rege Ierosolymorum. Rex vero propter magnitudinem animi ac virium, quos forte per mansuetudinem unire sibi poterat, indignantis animi motibus exasperabat. Quia ergo in nostro exercitu non id ipsum dicebant omnes, sed schismata pullulabant, tantæ expeditionis jam stabat negotium et non procedebat. A.D. 1191.

Cap. XXIV.

Quomodo Conradus marchio a[1] *sicariis interfectus est.*

Verum supradictorum duorum æmulorum quanto animosior tanto et vanior pro regno incerto contentio, postquam motus in exercitu Domini plurimos peperit, extremæ demum sortis beneficio conquievit. Regina quippe[2] Ierosolymorum, quæ, ut supra plenius dictum est, memorato Guidoni infelicissime nupserat, sera tandem morte deficiens,[3] illi ratione tantum regii conjugii de regno contendenti silentium indixit. Marchio quoque nefarie a sicariis interemptus,[4] regnum ambire cessavit. Incertum a[5] quo malignante immissi duo sicarii in ejus obsequio sub schemate militantium diuscule fuerant, patrandi vel cum proprio periculo sceleris opportunitatem jugiter observantes; qua inventa, clarissimum virum, solito paucioribus forte stipatum ministris, in medio propriæ civitatis, cum prope

A.D. 1192.

The death of Sibylla leaves Guy of Lusignan without claim to the throne. Conrad of Montferrat is assassinated (April 28, 1192).

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[1] *a*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

[2] *quippe*, D.L.R.S.; *quoque*, B.C.

[3] She died before 21st Oct. 1190, Epp. Cantuar., 329.

[4] *interemptus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *necatus est*, R. He had been a few days before elected king, being the husband of Isabel, Sibylla's sister.

[5] *a*, C.L.S.; *enim a*, B.D.

A.D. 1192.

Account of the "Old Man of the Mountain" (the sheikh of Alamoot) and his followers.

tanquam noti assisterent, repente aggressi, clandestinis cultris extractis,[1] mactarunt. Fertur enim[2] esse in Oriente agens sub ditione[3] cujusdam[4] potentis Sarraceni,[5] quem Senem agnominant,[6] quoddam hominum genus adeo seductibile atque in propriam proclive perniciem, ut ab eodem, quem scilicet[7] loco prophetæ colunt, artificiosissimis fallacium pollicitationum præstigiis sollicitatum atque illectum, immortalia se post mortem commoda percepturos æstiment,[8] si illi imperanti usque ad mortem obtemperent. Qui nimirum cum forte a quolibet præpotente infestari metuit sive jam infestatur, ad ejus peremptionem subornatos ex illo genere emittit sicarios. Illi vero ad exitium, tanquam ad sollemne epulum, cum gaudio properantes, nihil aliud ambiunt vel explorant, nisi ut, arrepto tempore pro certa mandati impletione, certo se discrimini[9] exponentes, designatum hostem commorituri interimant.[10] Denique propter hoc maxime genus orientales principes provisiori se[11] custodia muniunt, et præter familiarissimos nullius[12] ad se, nisi propriis stipatoribus mediis, patiuntur accessum. Verum quoniam iidem pestilentes plerumque, dum forte minus observarentur, ad necem clarissimorum virorum per medias custodias irruperunt, nullus magnorum qui sunt in terra tributum vel obsequium quodlibet a memorato[13] Sene per potentiam exigit, vel quietem ejus aliquatenus perturbare præsumit. Soli Templarii,

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[1] *extractis*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

[2] *enim*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[3] L. has *dictione*.

[4] *cujusdam*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

[5] *Sarraceni*, D.L.S.; *Saraceni*, B.C.

[6] *agnominant*, B.C.D.L.S.; *cognominant*, R.

[7] *scilicet*, C.D.L.S.; *simul*, B.

[8] L. has *eminent*. Hearne's emendation is *existiment*.

[9] D. has *discrimine*.

[10] *interimant*, B.D.L.S.; *interminant*, L.; C. reads *interimnant* (sic).

[11] In D. the passage *certa mandati . . . . provisiori se* is affected by mutilation of the page.

[12] For *nullius*, L. has *nullus*.

[13] *emoratorie* (sic), B., for *a memorato*.

dum in Syria res Christianæ florerent, tanquam mortis contemptores, ausi sunt eum impetere, et fœderatum obsequia[1] coegerunt præstare. Sciebat enim parum actum esse si forte per ministros proprios quemlibet magistrorum ejusdem[2] militiæ perderet; quæ[3] utique mox alium sibi creans acrius pro exstincti ultione sæviret. Ex hoc sane funestissimorum satellitum genere fuisse creduntur qui memoratum Tyri principem astu ausuque nefario peremerunt, commori non timentes. Comprehensi autem et subtiliter requisiti quo id auctore vel incentore egissent, ad mortem prompti et hilares nihil certum vel credibile[4] dixerunt. Itaque latet adhuc quis tanto viro necem fuerit hujusmodi machinatus.[5] Verum occasione recentis discordiæ qua disceptaverat cum rege Anglorum, proclives fuere plurimi ad succendendum super hoc eidem regi; Francis maxime illum infamantibus, qui pro marchione æmulati fuerant, multamque illi de morte viri præclari invidiam conflantibus per omnem fere orbem Latinum.[6]

A.D. 1192.

Two of the sheikh's emissaries are believed to have slain Conrad.

Cap. XXV.

Quomodo rex Francorum necem marchionis refudit in regem Anglorum, et de conventu Parisiacensi.

Sane postquam percrebruit[7] apud regem Francorum quod marchioni acciderat, de amici quidem indigno exitu doluit; sed mox hunc dolorem suscepta cum ingenti gaudio sugillandi regem Anglorum occasio

A.D. 1192.

The French king's grief at the news

[1] *obsequia*, B.D.L.S.; *obsequium*, C.

[2] *ejusdem*, B.D.L.S.; *illius*, C.

[3] *quæ*, B.D.L.S.; *quem*, C.

[4] *vel credibile*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[5] Newburgh still follows the *Itinerarium*, in some places almost transcribing, in others adding a few details, but more frequently omitting much.

[6] The passage *multamque illi . . . . Latinum* in D. is affected by a mutilation of the page.

[7] *percrebruit*, B.D.C.O.S.; *percrepuit*, L.

A.D. 1192. compensavit. Cumque in propriis esset finibus tam longe a Syria constitutus, illius in Oriente consistentis vel frustra timebat vel potius se, ad augendam invidiam, timere fingebat insidias; et tanquam ab eo subornati imminerent sicarii, præter morem majorum suorum non nisi armata vallatus custodia procedebat,[1] in[2] tantum ut quidam familiari ausu propius accedentes, non sine periculo hoc ausi[3] dicantur. Mirantibus hanc novitatem regiam plurimis, ut pro ea satisfaceret gentemque suam in regem Anglorum accenderet, præsulum procerumque suorum concilium Parisius convocavit. Ubi allegans contra eundem regem plurima tanquam certa, atque, inter cetera, quod virum illum nobilissimum nequissime[4] per diros satellites peremisset, literas quoque protulit a quibusdam potentibus sibi, ut dicebat, transmissas, quibus monebatur propensiorem suimet habere cautelam; sciens quod rex Anglorum insidiaturos animæ suæ ab Oriente jam direxisset sicarios. "Quamobrem," inquit, "nemo debet mirari, quod præter solitum diligentiorem mei ipsius curam habeam; quam tamen si "reputatis vel indecentem vel superfluam, decernite[5] "amovendam." Adjecit etiam, cordi sibi esse de manifesto[6] proditore proprias mature ulcisci injurias. Ad hæc[7] plurimi adulatorie responderunt, bonum honestumque esse et quod[8] pro cautela faciebat et quod pro ultione disponebat. Prudentiores[9] vero dixerunt: "Cautelam quidem tuam, rex, qua tibi contra in-"certos casus forte abundantius prospicis, non culpa-"mus; præmaturæ vero ultionis propositum minime

of the death of Conrad of Montferrat. He employs the story to damage king Richard. Pretending to fear assassination he surrounds himself with guards. Summons a council at Paris and producing letters accuses Richard of designs against his life.

His counsellors dissuade him from a dishonourable

[1] Rigord (Bouquet, xvii. p. 37) confirms this assertion. R. Divis., pp. 74, 75, attributes the false rumour to the bishop of Beauvais.

[2] *in*, C.D.L.S.; *et*, B.

[3] *ausi*, C.D.S.; also B. and L. by correction from *ausu*: *ausu*, O.

[4] *nequiter* in R.

[5] *decernite*, C.L.S.; *discernite*. B.D.

[6] *manifestato* in C.

[7] *hæc*, B.D.L.O.S.; *hoc*, C.

[8] *quod*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

[9] *providentiores* in C.

A.D. 1192.

" approbamus. Nam et si vera sint quæ de rege " Anglorum dicuntur, non tamen est petulanter et " præpropere [1] agendum, sed respectu honesti [2] susti- " nendum, quousque ad propria revertatur qui propter " Christum peregrinari noscitur. Denique si rever- " sus vel objecta purgare potuerit,[3] vel de excessibus " satisfacere voluerit, bene actum erit; sin autem, ex- " petendæ ultionis, justitia comite, congruum tempus " erit. Quod si nostrum consilium minus placet, Ro- " manus pontifex, qui de [4] rebus modernorum pere- " grinantium quietem sub gravi censura sancivit, " super his consulatur, ejusque, ut dignum est, sen- " tentia exspectetur." Hæc dicentes viri cordati et sobriis rationibus astruentes, sævientis impetum ad tempus frenarunt ne peregrinantis terras invaderet. Quievit ergo ad modicum: non tamen in illo extorto magis quam spontaneo otio desiit regi et regno [5] Anglorum cruentum moliri negotium, veteres scilicet Anglorum hostes Dacos ad mortuam olim querelam artificiose suscitare conatus. Verum hæc tam maligna molitio, Deo ordinante, Anglis non nocuit; auctorem vero suum nævo [6] inexpiabili denigravit. Famosa res est et propter claritatem personæ mundo notissima.

attack on England.

He abstains from open war, but prepares the way for a future attack.

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[1] *præpropere*, B.C.D.L.S.; *præmature*, R.

[2] *honesti*, B.C.D.L.S.; *honesto*, R.

[3] *potuerit*, B.D.L.S.; *poterit*, C.

[4] *de*, C.L.O.S.; om. B.D.

[5] *desiit regi et regno*, B.C.D., and S., by transposition; *regno desiit et regi*, O.L. The only importance of this variation is its bearing on the connexion of the MSS. In S. the original order was *desiit regno et regi*, but *regno* and *regi* have the usual marks of transposition (″) over them, while the two *i*'s in *desiit* have hair strokes exactly imitating those marks. Hence perhaps the error into which the scribes of O. and L. have fallen.

[6] *nævo*, B.C.D.L.S.; *veneno*, R.

Cap. XXVI.[1]

Quomodo rex Francorum duxit sororem regis Dacorum, et quomodo repudiavit eam.

A.D. 1193.

The king of France seeks the sister of Knut VI. of Denmark in marriage.

Igitur rex Francorum missis ad regem Dacorum viris honoratis, germanæ ejus laudatissimæ virginis nuptias sollemniter expetivit. Rex autem Dacorum magnifice legatos suscipiens, petitionem quoque, de optimatum suorum consilio, libenter amplexus est. "Et quid," inquit, "dominus vester vult sibi dari[2] "dotis nomine?" Illi vero, prout in mandatis acceperant, "Antiquum," inquiunt, "jus regis Dacorum in "regno Anglorum, et ad hoc assequendum classem "exercitumque Daciæ anno uno."[3] Tum ille, "Rem," inquit, "difficilem postulat: veruntamen deliberabo an concedi debeat." Cumque super hoc regni sui[4] inclitos seorsum consuleret, responderunt: "Satis nobis negotii "est contra paganam et[5] nostris vicinam finibus gen-"tem Wandalorum. Illisne ergo dimissis, hostiliter "aggrediemur[6] Anglorum gentem Christianam atque "innoxiam, duplici nosmetipsos periculo immergentes? "Nam si Anglos aggredimur, ferocissimis, qui juxta "nos sunt, barbaris fines nostros exponimus. Porro "Anglorum gens magna et valida opibusque famosa, "propriæ vel saluti vel libertati contra omnem vim "externam tuendæ sufficere creditur. Proinde aliud "petat rex Francorum, si voluerit, dotis nomine: cum "tu, rex, non debeas cum propriæ gentis periculo "germanæ tuæ honorabiles nuptias providere." Placuit regi consilium sobrium, jussitque legatos aliud dicere, si quid haberent. Illi vero, exspirante petitione

He asks as dowry the ancient claims of Denmark to England and the use of the Danish forces for a year.

The king of Denmark refuses, but

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[1] Should follow cap. 37. Newburgh obviously thinks this happened *before* the King's capture. See p. 385 where the proposal to Agnes immediately follows the news.

[2] L. has *dare*.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 224, and Gervase (i. 529) agree.

[4] *sui*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

[5] *et*, B.D.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

[6] *aggrederemur* in C.

prima, decem marcarum argenti[1] millia petierunt. Ad hæc[2] rex magnanimus: "Rem," inquit, "rex Francorum a rege Dacorum nunc[3] petit pertenuem ratione negotii et personarum. Petitionem ejus grate suscipimus,[4] et votum mature implebimus." Tunc pactis initis, et[5] sacramento a legatis[6] præstito pro completione pactorum, ornatam, ut decuit, cum summa postulata tradidit virginem, et de suis honoratos quosdam, qui prosequerentur eam usque in Franciam, una direxit. Rex autem Francorum occurrit ei Ambianis, ibique sollemniter nuptiali sibi fœdere copulatam, etiam thoro accivit. Verum post initi fœderis, ut dicitur, noctem unam, incertum unde offensus, abjecit eam:[7] rem plane faciens non tantum illicitam, sed etiam personæ regiæ multum indecoram. Causa sane pudendæ levitatis hujus[8] varie assignatur. Dicunt enim quidam, quod propter fœtidum oris spiritum, alii, quod propter latentem[9] quandam fœditatem repudiaverit eam, vel quia non invenit eam virginem. Indignæ proculdubio causæ hujusmodi, atque ad[10] dirimendum conjugium Christianum invalidæ. Verum cum præcipitati repudii causa sit incerta, incertum tamen non est eum qui fodit foveam incidisse in eam, illum scilicet, qui sub prætextu nuptiarum gentis innoxiæ et Christianæ sitivit impie sanguinem, perspicuo Dei judicio ex ipsis nuptiis sempiterni dedecoris reportasse mercedem. Porro, ut infami operi honestæ speciei colorem superduceret, et vel ad homines, quod utique ad Deum non poterat, contracti matrimonii fœdus abrumperet,

A.D. 1193.

accedes to the alternative demand of a sum of money.

The marriage is celebrated, (Aug. 14) but Philip rejects his bride.

Eccl. x. 8.

He obtains a

[1] *argenti*, B.C.D.O., and L. by correction from *agenti*; *agenti*, S.

[2] *hæc*, C.L.O.S.; *hoc*, B,D.

[3] *nunc*, C.D.L.O.S.; *non*, B.

[4] *suscepimus* in C.

[5] For *initis, et*, B. has *nostris in*.

[6] For *a legatis*, B. has *allegatis*.

[7] *abjecit eam*, B.D.L.O.S.; *eam projecit*, C.

[8] *hujus*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

[9] *latentem*, B.C.D.O.S.; om. L. Rigord (Bouquet, xvii. 38) merely says "quibusdam maleficiis per "sortiarias impeditur."

[10] *ad*, B.D.L.O.S.; *in*, C.

A.D. 1193. divorce on the ground of consanguinity (November 5).

Romano pontifici per responsales callidos insinuare curavit surreptione quadam se propriam duxisse affinem, postulans vinculo minus legitimo eximi. At ille delegavit judices ex regno postulantis, forti tamen mandato astrictos, uti in hoc negotio juxta integritatem canonicæ procederent sanctionis. Qui nimirum suo regi plus justo propitii, affinitate per duorum pseudo-episcoporum, Beluacensis scilicet et Carnotensis, execrabile perjurium imaginarie approbata, divortium celebrarunt.[1] Et Beluacensis[2] quidem postea Dei judicio traditus in manus regis Anglorum, eundem[3] satis idoneum expertus est in severitate ultionis Dei ministrum. Carnotensis[4] vero, qui morum proluvie minus esse episcopus dicitur, Dei adhuc patientia sustinet, ut tarditatem pœnæ quantitate compenset. Sic itaque rex Francorum in facie ecclesiæ exosi connubii lege solutus, ad alias paulo post nuptias aspiravit; quibus tamen[5] potitus non est, ut suo loco dicetur.[6]

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[1] The archbishop of Rheims presided over the council at Compiègne. The two bishops, Reginald of Chartres and Philip of Beauvais, with Robert count of Dreux and others, swore to the consanguinity. The pretence (or error) was that Ingeburga was related to Philip's first wife, Isabella. The flaw was that Charles le Bon, a true descendant of Sweyn the Great, left no posterity, and that his successor, Thierry d'Alsace, Isabella's grandfather, was in no way related to the Danish kings.

[2] *Beluacensis*, C.D.L.S.; *Bellnacensis*, B.

[3] The passage "Qui nimirum suo . . . Anglorum eundem" is entirely different in Picard's edition (Paris, 1610). MSS. A., B., and D. are in accord with the text, and it is difficult to understand whence Picard derived his version.

[4] *Carnotensis*, B.C.O.S.; *Carmotensis*, D.; *Carconensis*, L.

[5] *tamen*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

[6] The opening words of the next chapter (*his diebus*) confirm the statement made in note 1, p. 368, and show that Newburgh wrongly supposed that the events of this chapter happened in 1192. Geoffrey's quarrel ended in October 1192.

Cap. XXVII.

Quomodo Eboracensis archiepiscopus præcipitavit sententiam excommunicationis in episcopum Dunelmensem.

His diebus Geofridus archiepiscopus Eboracensis et Hugo episcopus Dunelmensis sua fortius, et remissius ea quæ sunt Christi, quærentes, cum multo et gravi scandalo disceptarunt.[1] Ille, ut præesset; iste, ne subesset; neuter vero, ut prodesset. Ita quippe in[2] diebus nostris pastorale decus evanuit, ut inter pastores ecclesiasticos admodum rarus inveniatur intelligens aut requirens Deum, dum fere omnes quæ sua sunt quærunt. Et quidem paulo ante ejusdem Geofridi electi adhuc Eboracensis pendente fortuna, Clemens Romanus pontifex, intercedentibus obsequiis, eundem episcopum cum suis omnibus ab archiepiscopi Eboracensis jurisdictione exemerat.[3] Porro successor ejus Cœlestinus Eboracensis ecclesiæ jura et dignitates redintegrans, eandem exemptionem cassavit. Geofridus itaque de mandato sedis Apostolicæ Turonis ordinatus, et ad sedem propriam cum metropolitani honore reversus, de memorato episcopo, quem ante ordinationem suam infestum expertus fuerat, triumphare cupiens, canonicam ab eo professionem instanter exegit.[4] Ad quam ex more præstandam cum ille nullatenus inclinaretur, sed appellationis se diffugio et quorundam enormium capitulorum objectu tueri niteretur: idem archiepiscopus excommunicationis in eum sententiam præpropere, et motu magis proprio quam prudentum consilio, promul-

[Margin: A.D. 1191–2.]

[Margin: Quarrel between Geoffrey archbishop of York and Hugh bishop of Durham.]

[Margin: Rom. iii. 11.]

[Margin: Clement III. had exempted the bishop from the jurisdiction of the archbishop, but Celestine III. reversed the decree.]

[Margin: Archbishop Geoffrey demanding a profession of canonical obedience from the bishop is refused.]

[Margin: He excommunicates him. (Dec. 1191).]

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[1] B. has *deceptarunt.*

[2] *in*, C.D.L.S.; *non*, B.

[3] Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, iii. 74) confirms this, under date 1190, but does not mention the reversal of the decree.

[4] Geoffrey first summoned Hugh before a synod at York fixed for Sept. 30, 1191 (Hoveden, iii. 168). Events made this an impossible date for the archbishop (see p. 341), so he must have fixed it before his arrest on Sept. 18. Newburgh must allude to the citations after Geoffrey's return to York (about Nov. 1), Bened. ii. 225.

A.D. 1192. gavit. Verum sicut hic appellationem et objecta, ita ille sprevit risitque sententiam. Uterque mox ad sedem Apostolicam instructos responsales direxit; hic pro confirmanda, ille pro infirmanda evacuandaque sententia quæ lata fuerat. Et hic quidem cupiens experiri sinceritatem Romanam, vel potius sufficere judicans quod profusioribus obsequiis pro negotio promotionis suæ paulo ante placasset Romanos, simpliciter postulavit; ille vero sagacius, prout a Romanis postulari oportuit, postulandum putavit: tantoque factus est in causa potior quanto et pollicendo ponderosior. Denique non solum pro eo est pronuntiatum quod[1] sententia illa non teneret,[2] verum etiam ei, sive pro acceptæ injuriæ consolatione sive etiam pro insolentis adversarii humiliatione, indultum, ut illi tanquam metropolitano subesse ulterius non deberet.[3] Sic ergo exemptus a jurisdictione potestatis suspectæ, victoriam suam quanto gloriosius tanto et vanius ostentavit. Porro idem archiepiscopus post successus præclaros initium malorum[4] hoc habuit, uti sequentia declarabunt.

Both appeal to Rome, but the archbishop omits the usual bribes, and the cause is decided against him.

Cap. XXVIII.

Cur minus actum sit a nostris in Oriente, et de repatriatione peregrinorum.[5]

A.D. 1192. Interea exercitus Christianus Regi regum in Oriente militans, in multo laborum et periculorum experimento agebat. Veruntamen Christianum negotium minus procedebat, tum propter dissensiones æmulationesque ducum, ut dictum est, tum propter difficultates plurimas, tanquam Deo minus propitio ob-

The dissensions of their leaders and Saladin's devastation of the land

[1] C. repeats *non solum* after *quod*.

[2] Celestine's letter is in Hoveden, iii. 170, its date is about Feb. 1192.

[3] Gervase (i. 513) says that at Northampton (Oct. 1192) "ad "obedientiam sui metropolitani "revocatus est."

[4] *malorum*, B.D.L.S.; *majorum*, C.

[5] *et de . . . peregrinorum*, om. B.

sistentes.[1] Decernebant quidam adeundam totisque oppugnandam[2] viribus Sanctam Civitatem, quam impii profanabant; aliis vero hoc impossibile videbatur, certis ex causis. Terra quippe, quæ paulo ante fertilissima fuerat et quasi omnimodæ copiæ[3] promptuarium, maligna et callida Saladini provisione redacta erat in solitudinem, ne scilicet Christianus exercitus quantulumcunque ex ea subsidium caperet; unde[4] nec poterat a mari ad aliquod majus negotium longius progredi, cum solum ei mare navigiis necessaria ministraret. Rex autem Anglorum exacta hieme in montanis, cum aliud non posset, urbes maritimas quas Turci eversas reliquerant, et maxime Ascalonam,[5] summo studio et profusis opibus instaurare[6] cœpit, carpentibus eum æmulis, et[7] rumores de illo pessimos per totum fere orbem[8] Christianum spargentibus: scilicet quod regem Francorum insidiis appetisset; quod Conradum marchionem virum Christianissimum nefarie per sicarios peremisset; quod cum Saladino de proditione Terræ Sanctæ nequissime[9] collusisset; atque ideo ad expugnandam Civitatem Sanctam accedere noluisset.[10] Porro ille cœptis insistens, præ animi magnitudine æmulantium maledicta et molimina contemnebat. Sane post memorati marchionis interitum, cum et[11] Guido quondam rex Ierosolymorum, qui cum eo contenderat, uxore sublata, solo jam regis nomine esset contentus, deliberavit rex Anglorum cum ducibus et nobilibus universis, cuinam fines Christianos

A.D. 1192.

hinder the progress of the crusaders.

Richard renews the defences of Ascalon.

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[1] B. has *obsistens.*

[2] *oppugnandam,* B.C.D.L.S.; *expugnandam,* R.

[3] *copiæ,* B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

[4] *unde,* C.D.L.S.; *tantum,* B.

[5] *Ascalonam,* D.L.S.; *Ascolonam,* B.; *Ascalona,* C.; *Ascalonem,* O.

[6] *instaurare,* C.L.O.S.; *restaurare,* B.D.

[7] *et,* C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

[8] For *orbem* B. and D. have *omnem.*

[9] *nequissime,* B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[10] *noluisset,* B.D.L.S.; *voluisset,* C.O.

[11] *et,* B.D.L.S.; *etiam,* C.

A.D. 1192. crederent, mature ad propria reversuri. Et concordi decreto constituerunt principem Christianæ acquisitionis Henricum, illustrem Gallicanæ Campaniæ comitem, utriusque regis, Francorum scilicet et Anglorum, communem ex communi germana nepotem, tantis condignum avunculis. Quo facto, et novo principi integre traditis munitionibus Christianis, ordinatisque præsidiis urbium, principes et populi, tanquam expleto militiæ tempore, cum jam sumptus ad moram deficerent, certatim repatriare cœperunt, anno ab expugnatione Tholomaidæ secundo, tempore autumnali. Veruntamen eorum [1] qui post Christianæ in Terra Sancta plebis excidium propter Christum peregrinati fuerant, nec [2] quarta pars ad propria rediit. Cum enim ex omni fere orbe Christiano infinita hominum millia ad illam peregrinationem sanctæ devotionis fervor accenderit,[3] vel morbus, vel gladius, vel inedia, vel laboris intolerantia partem longe majorem absumpsit.[4] In qua re consideranda est altitudo sapientiæ Dei de suorum, quos ad vitam præordinavit æternam, temporali vel salute vel felicitate minus curantis, et eorum clades temporales ad Supernæ Civitatis completionem subtili provisione derivantis. Non enim est dubium eos, qui relicta patria atque omni necessitudine [5] carnali, tantis se laboribus, periculis, et cladibus propter Christum exponentes in hac laudabili devotione vitam temporalem [6] finire meruerunt, illis annumerandos de quibus dicitur, "Beati mortui qui in Domino moriun- Apoc. xiv. 13.
"tur," cum non solum in Domino sed etiam pro Domino mortui esse probentur. Proinde fidenter [7] dixerim, quod multo clementius superna cum illis pietas

Henry count of Champagne is elected king of Jerusalem.

The crusaders begin to return home in the autumn.

Not a quarter of the original number reaches home.

The author's reflections on the blessedness of a crusader's death.

[1] *eorum*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[2] *nec*, C.D.L.S.; *ne*, B.; *vix*, R.

[3] *accenderit*, B.C.D.L.S.; *accenderet*, R.

[4] *absumpsit*, B.C.D.L.S.; *absumpserat*, R.

[5] *necessitudine*, B.C.D.L.S.; *celsitudine*, R.

[6] *temporalem*, imperfect in B.

[7] *fidenter*, B.C.L.S.; *fideliter*, D.

egerit, multoque felicius illis contigerit,[1] qui in illa peregrinatione vitam terminantes, felici compendio ad æterna migrarunt, quam qui repatriantes cum sospitate corporali ad sordes pristinas remearunt. Quippe in eis quos ex illa peregrinatione ad propria reversos[2] cognovimus, etiam ad mores pristinos post tanta propter Christum[3] tolerata incommoda reversos videmus. Mirum quidem videtur quod Dominus suæ incarnationis, passionis,[4] resurrectionis, ascensionisque sacratissima loca a gente spurcissima occupari et[5] profanari permiserit. Verum divinæ permissionis hujus[6] tunc quidem occulta erat, nunc autem manifesta est[7] ratio. Quippe occasione illius tam dolendi pudendique casus[8] infinitis peccatoribus ad studium pietatis conversis, tanta piarum millia[9] animarum in quinquennali jam spatio ad æternam requiem superni Ordinatoris manus assumpsit, quanta per integritatem terrenæ Jerusalem, illa quæ sursum est Jerusalem,[10] quæ est mater nostra, ad suam completionem annis retro plurimis non suscepit. Ita ergo Rex noster attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponens omnia suaviter, et malis quoque hominum utens optime, dum terrenam suam Jerusalem et fines ejus propter peccata habitantium in manus hostium tradidit, cœlestis suæ Jerusalem uberiora subtiliter[11] lucra quæsivit.

A.D. 1192.

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[1] *multoque . . . contigerit*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[2] *reversos*, B.D.L.S.; *reversuros*, C.

[3] *Christum*, B.D.L.S.; *Deum*, C.

[4] *passionis*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[5] B. omits *et*.

[6] *hujus*, B.C.D.O.S.; erased from L.

[7] *est*, apparently accidentally erased from L.

[8] B. has *casibus*.

[9] For *millia*, B. has *militia*.

[10] *Jerusalem*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[11] *subtiliter*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

Cap. XXIX.

Quomodò rex Anglorum liberavit Joppen,[1] *et de*[2] *induciis Christianorum et Turcorum.*[3]

A.D. 1192.

Sane repatriantibus ceteris præter eos qui ordinati erant ad præsidia urbium, nec illustri Anglorum regi, qui jam proprios in sumptibus diuturnæ[4] militiæ thesauros exhauserat, productioris[5] moræ in Syria facultas fuit. Rebus ergo[6] dispositis, et datis nepoti, quem regni exigui principem relinquebat,[7] mandatis,[8] Cyprum cum suis rediit,[9] inde opportune profecturus.[10] Quibus agnitis, Saladinus super Joppen,[11] minus sufficienti munitam præsidio, cum exercitu irruit, eaque celeriter expugnata, et facta Christianorum strage non modica, reliquos in arce conclusos obsedit. Tum nostri eo modo quo poterant præcaventes, ne usque ad internicionem[12] reliquiæ delerentur, immanissimo tyranno pacti sunt deditionem[13] arcis ad diem certum, nisi forte Christianus superveniret exercitus. Et ille quidem nostrorum qui abierant reditum non metuens, quietus jam erat, tanquam incruento negotio arcem mature ingressurus. Rex autem Anglorum ubi sinistri eventus nuntium accepit, tristitia mox in virtutis materiam versa, cum omnibus quos eum non sequi pude-

The crusaders begin to disperse.

Saladin makes a sudden attack on Joppa (July 28).

Richard hastens to relieve the city.

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[1] *Joppen*, D.L.S.; *Jopen*, B.C.

[2] *de*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[3] *de . . . Turcorum*, C.D.L.S.; B. reads *de judiciis Christianorum*.

[4] *diuturnæ*, B.C.D.O.S.; *diurnæ*, L.

[5] B. has *productoris*.

[6] *ergo*, B.C.D.O.S.; *vero*, L.

[7] *relinquebat*, B.C.L.O.S.; *derelinquebat*, D.

[8] *mandatis*, B.C.D.O.S.; L. reads (by erasures and interlineation) *regni munitionibus*.

[9] This is a mistake. Richard had not returned to Cyprus. He travelled from Acre by sea to the relief of Joppa. Hence perhaps Newburgh's error. See Itin. Reg. Ric. (Lib. vi. p. 404, Rolls edit.)

[10] *profecturus*, C.D.L.O.S.; *profecturus erat*, B.

[11] *Joppen*, D.S.; *Jopen*, B.C.L.

[12] *internicionem*, B.C.D.L.S.; *interemptionem*, R.

[13] D. has *deditione*.

bat secundis flatibus Syriam celeriter rediit, Turcos inopinato ejus reditu impetuque[1] perterritos in fugam convertit. Qui rursum conglobati, fretique ingentibus numeris, eum in Joppe clausum[2] frustra conati sunt obsidere. Egressus quippe in spiritu fortitudinis, et[3] non solum optimi ducis verum etiam fortissimi militis implens officium, per dies aliquot cum eis in campo conflixit, et manu longe impari tremendas Turcorum copias tandem, Christo[4] propitio, ita protrivit, ut invictum ejus animum mirantes, et nihil contra eum ulterius audendum putantes, recederent.[5] Joppe igitur liberata, apud castellum quod dicitur Caiphas[6] diebus aliquot[7] ægrotavit. Quo audito Saladinus, ut dicitur, non tanquam de hoste debilitato exsultavit, sed tanquam de invictissimi principis incommodo doluit. Missisque ad eum nuntiis: "Scio," inquit, "quod in "hac terra etiam sospes prolixiorem moram facere "nequeas: te autem abeunte, quod a Christianis cum "tanto labore acquisitum est, certo exponetur peri-"culo, et mediocri negotio recidet[8] in manus meas. "Veruntamen propter te, cujus egregiam magis virtu-"tem veneror quam animum hostilem aversor, tri-"ennii inducias Christianis indulgeo. Ascalona tan-"tum nec mihi nec illis sit, sed destruatur." Rex[9] autem licet ægre ferret urbem everti in cujus recenti instauratione sumptuosissimo frustra labore sudaverat, consilio tamen et desiderio patriarchæ et novi[10] principis, omniumque Christianorum terræ illius, inducias amplexus[11] est, respectu quidem[12] urbis evertendæ[13]

A.D. 1192.

Battle of Joppa (Aug. 5).

Richard falls sick.

Saladin's admiration for Richard prompts him to offer a truce. He stipulates only for the destruction of Ascalon.

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[1] D. has *impetumque.*
[2] B. reads *Jope claustrum.*
[3] B. omits *et.*
[4] *Christo*, B.C.D.L.S.; *Deo*, R.
[5] D. has *crederent* for *recederent.*
[6] *Caiphas*, B.D.L.O.S.; *Cayphas*, C.
[7] L. by alteration reads *aliquod.*
[8] *recidet*, C.D.L.S.; *recedet*, B.; *incidet*, O.R.
[9] *rex*, in B. *res.*
[10] For *novi*, B. originally read *non.*
[11] B. has *complexus.*
[12] *quidem*, B.D.L.O.S.; *tamen*, C.
[13] *evertendæ*, B.D.L.O.S.; *vertendæ*, C.

A.D. 1192. minus honestas, sed fortiori ratione multum necessarias. Itaque per operam regis[1] Anglorum, solis[2] culpandam æmulis, celebratæ firmatæque sunt inter Christianos in Palæstina consistentes et Turcos Saladino subditos induciæ a Paschali sollemnitate proxima in tres annos, tres menses, tres septimanas, tres dies, tres horas. Indultum quoque firmiterque statutum est a Saladino in gratiam regis Anglorum, ut Christiani toto induciarum tempore secure et libere sepulchrum Dominicum orandi studio visitarent, nihilque molestiæ a Sarracenis in accessu vel reditu patientes, expletis orationum sollemnibus cum fructu devotionis suæ Christianis se finibus redderent.[3] Quamobrem sancitis prout oportebat induciis, Christianorum ingens numerus ad Sanctam Civitatem contendit, et votis potitus cum longi satisfactione desiderii hilariter repatriavit. Et rex quidem qui unus pro decem millibus computabatur, dum propter casus ancipites de consilio sapientum propriæ cautius saluti prospiceret, minus satisfecit devotioni. At vero Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, qui ejus in illa expeditione comes individuus et fidus prudensque cooperator exstiterat, regiæ devotionis vicem implere curavit. Denique, ut dicitur, pro se et principe sepulchrum Principis principum visitans, fuso ibidem piarum profluvio lacrimarum[4] et sacra hostia immolata, suorum pariter et regiorum compos votorum ad principem rediit. Quibus actis, idem rex repatriandi propositum declaravit, insulam Cyprum Guidoni olim Ierosolymorum regi, viro strenuissimo, mera liberalitate donavit. Dilecto nepoti, quem finibus Christianis præfecerat, suam, Christo propitio, reversionem circa induciarum

Margin: Cf. Contin. Chr. Flor. Wigorn. 159. R. Divis., 73.

Margin: A truce for more than three years is concluded (Sept. 2, 1192). The Christians are allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre.

Margin: Richard is advised not to visit Jerusalem. Hubert bishop of Salisbury goes there on his behalf.

Margin: Richard gives Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan, and promising to return

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[1] B. reads *operam ejus regis*.
[2] For *solis*, B. reads, by 15th cent. alteration, *sed*.
[3] S. has *redderet*.
[4] *profluvio lacrimarum*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

expletionem pollicitus, charactere Dominico, quo insignitus advenerat, in argumentum propositæ reversionis retento, infidis se flatibus credidit. A.D. 1192. — sets sail for Europe (Oct. 9, 1192).

Cap. XXX.

Quod Deo disponente plus actum sit illa expeditione pro superna quam terrena Jerusalem, et de morte Saladini.[1]

A.D. 1189–92. — The author's reflections on the events of the Third Crusade.

Hunc[2] exitum occulto Dei judicio habuit Christiana illa tam sumptuosa, laboriosa, periculosa[3] contra immanissimum sacri et tremendi Nominis hostem Saladinum expeditio magnorum regum, inclitorum ducum, innumerabilium populorum. Et quidem tantis sumptibus, periculis, laboribus, pro recuperanda terrena Jerusalem parum actum est, pro instauranda vero superna Jerusalem plurimum,[4] uti superius ostensum est. Deo enim melius quam humana erat intentio disponente, tam multa Christianorum in suscepta pro Christo tam laboriosa peregrinatione occumbentium millia,[5] quæ quidem secundum intentionem pro recuperatione terrenæ Jerusalem frustra sudasse videntur, cum fructu pii laboris tanquam vivi lapides in illius quæ sursum est Jerusalem ædificium transierunt. Veruntamen sicut defectui temporum nostrorum, quibus utique abundante iniquitate refrigescit caritas, imputandum est quod loca sacra, in quibus redemptionis nostræ celebrata sunt sacramenta, tradita sunt in manus impiorum: ita et[6] illud quod pro recuperatione eorundem locorum tantis laboribus et sumptibus Christianum minus processit negotium. Itaque propter

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[1] *et de . . . Saladini*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[2] C. has *Tunc*.

[3] *periculosa*, C.D.L.O.S.; *periculosaque*, B.; *et periculosa*, R.

[4] *plurimum*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

[5] *millia*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

[6] *et*, C.D.L.O.S.; om. B.

A.D. 1189–92.

nostrorum defectum et dedecus temporum, oportet Civitatem[1] Sanctam conculcari et[2] profanari a gentibus usque ad tempus quod solus Deus novit. Nam suo tempore proculdubio juxta morem priscum Terra Sancta spurcissimos evomet incolas; et forte per parciorem manum Christianam, ut virtus divina in negotio clarius elucescat. Unde veraciter a quodam fideli bellatore dictum est, "Facile est concludi multos in "manus paucorum, et non est differentia in conspectu "Dei liberare in multis aut in paucis." Quod utique declaratum est, cum unus persequeretur mille et duo fugarent decem millia; cum Gedeon amota multitudine per trecentos viros, qui aquas[3] lambuerant,[4] de innumerabilibus populis triumpharet. At non est tentandus Deus, ut Christiani, pro eo quod Dominum bonum potentemque habent, petulanter et inconsulte contra multos adversarios pauci prosiliant. Ita enim suos vult Deus in se confidere,[5] ut tamen non negligant prudenter et provide agere. Unde scriptum est quod sancti olim duces prœliaturi prœlia Domini, et futuræ victoriæ, ipso hanc pollicente, non ignari, ipso plerumque jubente[6] plerumque non[7] jubente, convocaverint multitudinem, nec se cum paucis vel honestum vel utile duxerunt[8] offerre discrimini; non utique ut Omnipotenti facilior esset per impetum multitudinis præstandæ victoriæ copia, sed quia illius saluberrimi præcepti, scilicet, "Non tentabis Dominum[9] Deum "tuum," homo[10] non debet esse negligens, et[11] quia melius est ut multi quam pauci Deo militent, non

Machab. iii. 18.

Judic. vii. 6.

Deut. vi. 16. Matth. iv. 7.

[1] For *oportet Civitatem*, B. has *opportunitatem*.

[2] B. omits *et*.

[3] *aquas*, B.C.L.S.; *aquam*, R.

[4] *lambuerant*, B.L.S.; *lamberant*, C.; *labuerant* (sic), D.

[5] *confidere*, B.C.D.L.S.; *credere*, R.

[6] *plerumque jubente*, B.D.L.O.S.; om. C.

[7] *non*, C.L.S.; *etiam non*, B.D.

[8] *duxerunt*, C.L.O.S.; *duxerint*, B.D.

[9] B. omits *Dominum*.

[10] *homo*, B.C.L.O.S.; *et homo*, D.

[11] *et*, B.C.D.O.S.; *sed*, L.

plane ex suo numero Omnipotenti plus facultatis[1] allaturi, sed pro suo numero ab Eo qui sibi nil minuit quantislibet distribuat, militiæ præmia percepturi. A.D. 1189-92.

Sane paulo post exercitus Christiani a Syria digressum, stillavit Dominus super populum suum misericordiæ modicum, tanquam arram quandam[2] gratiæ plenioris; virgam quippe furoris Domini et[3] formidabilem Christiani nominis malleum confregit Saladinum. Qui nimirum cum in multa lætitia et securitate ageret, tanquam elusa omni fortitudine magnorum regum Occidentis, repente incidit in manus Dei viventis; magnumque illud imperium, quod ex regnis opulentissimis homo non regii sanguinis sed astutiæ singularis arte simul et virtute[4] conflaverat, cum ingenti rixarum bellorumque materia delicatis heredibus[5] moriens dereliquit. Denique eo mortuo juxta numerum succedentium scissum est imperium ejus,[6] ipsisque inter se dissidentibus facta est summa confusio in domo ejus. Christiani vero sub principe Henrico in suis urbibus quiete commorantes, expletionem induciarum præstolabantur.

Death of Saladin, 1193 (March 4).

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[1] *facultatis*, B.D.L.O.S.; *falsitatis*, C.

[2] D. has *quadam*.

[3] *et*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

[4] *sed astutiæ . . . . . et virtute*, C.D.L.S., and B. with *scilicet* for *simul*; O. has merely *sed astutia et virtute*.

[5] From *lætitia et securitate* to *heredibus*, D. has lost many words by mutilation of the page.

[6] C. omits *ejus*.

Cap. XXXI.

Quomodo rex Anglorum naufragium passus, et captus est a duce Austriæ.

A.D. 1192. — King Richard quits the Holy Land (Oct. 9).

Igitur rex Anglorum a Syria digrediens, duabus reginis, sorore scilicet vidua et conjuge, cum omni fere familia præmissis, ipse cum paucis expeditioribus[1] agiliori navigio sequebatur. Impatientior quippe tædii, dum lentum et morosum latissimi aspernaretur pelagi transitum, tutiorem gravioris navigii, et suo pondere minus timentis spiritus procellarum, evectionem recusavit, quod utique factum est illi in scandalum.

Queen Bérengère reaches Sicily safely.

Et quidem reginæ cum omni comitatu suo, lento sed prospero cursu Siciliam venientes, ibidem sub rege Tancredo in tuto pro tempore substitere.[2]

Richard is wrecked on the Istrian coast, barely escaping with his life, and finds himself among enemies.

Porro rex, navi qua vehebatur inclementioribus auris arrepta, tractus est ad partes Histriæ, atque inter Aquileiam et Venetiam naufragium passus, ægre cum paucis æquoreum discrimen evasit. Ubi propriam pro tempore propter casus incertos inter ceteros naufragos celans personam, didicit regem Anglorum hominibus regionis illius ob necem Conradi marchionis, quæ ipsi imputabatur, esse invisum, nec posse ibidem tutum[3] habere hospitium. Quamobrem imminens inani[4] studuit eludere[5] cautela periculum.[6] Nam cito percrebruit insignem naufragum latere vel oberrare in terra illa. Mox nobilibus simul et populo ad vestigandum[7] eum intentis, quidam comes, Mainardus nomine, ipso

Ep. Henr. Rom. Imp. ad Phil. reg. Fr.

Mainhard II., count of Goritz, captures at Frisach

latenter per fugam elapso, octo de comitibus ejus comprehendit. Deinde in archiepiscopatu Salburgensi, loco qui vocatur Frisarium,[8] sex de comitibus ejus a

Ep. Henr. (Hoveden, iii. 195).

[1] D. and O. have *expeditionibus.*

[2] *substitere,* C.D.L.S.; *subsistere,* B.O.

[3] *tutum,* B.D.L.O.S.; *tum tutum,* C.

[4] For *inani* B. reads *jam.*

[5] *eludere,* B.C.L.O.S.

[6] From *æquoreum discrimen* as far as *periculum* the text of D. has suffered by mutilation.

[7] *investigandum* in C.

[8] In Carinthia, a detached part of the see. *Frisorum* in Hoveden.

Ep. Henr. quodam Frederico[1] detentis, cum tribus tantum[2] comitibus noctu ad partes Austriæ properavit. Humboldus[3] vero dux Austriæ, qui, ut supradictum est, stipendiarius ejus in exercitu Domini fuerat, profusam ejus circa se largitatem, cum egeret, expertus, oblitus beneficii atque in[4] ultionem cujusdam læsionis exiguæ sæviens, magis[5] autem opum Anglicanarum homo avarus et perfidus sitiens, cautissimos per omnes viarum transitus et diverticula, ut insigni profugo evadendi locus non esset, custodes disposuit; quem tandem in suburbano quodam, indicio, ut dicitur, cujusdam ex comitibus ejus, dum escas lautiores emeret, caute notati, et ad prodendum cuinam peregrino talia procuraret intentata[6] morte coacti, inventum per immissos[7] satellites captivavit. Denique ingressi ad eum sollicite se occultantem directi a duce armati, "Ave,"[8] inquiunt, "rex Anglorum: frustra personam tuam pal-" "lias, facies tua manifestum te facit." Cumque vir ingentis animi gladium arriperet: "Noli," inquiunt, "rex, vel[9] timere vel temere agere, non enim mori-" "eris sed potius a morte servaberis in medio hostium" "tuorum, propinquorum scilicet Conradi marchionis," "quærentium animam tuam: in quorum utique ma-" "nus si forte, etiam centum vitas[10] habens, incideres," "ne una quidem earum salva tibi esse posset." Captus igitur rex nobilis a duce nequissimo anno a partu Virginis M°C° nonagesimo II°, mense Decembri, citra decus regium in vinculis servabatur.

A.D. 1192.

some of Richard's companions.

Richard is tracked and made prisoner Dec. (20), 1192.

[1] *Flederico*, B.D. Frederick de Betesowe, Hoved. iii. 195.

[2] For *tantum* B. reads *tamen*.

[3] Should of course be Leopold, as in the emperor's letter to Philip from which this narrative is mainly taken. See Hoveden, iii. 195.

[4] *atque in*, B.D.L.O.S.; *atque in, regem in*, C.

[5] For *magis* C. has *majus*.

[6] B. has *in intenta*.

[7] *immissos*, C.D.L.O.S.; *præmissas*, B.

[8] For *armati*, "*Ave*," C. has *armati dua*.

[9] *vel*, D.L.O.S.; om. B.C.

[10] B. has *vitam*.

Cap. XXXII.

Quomodo rex Francorum, delusus a filio ducis Saxoniæ, speratis[1] nuptiis caruit.[2]

A.D. 1192–3.

The emperor Henry VI. sends tidings of Richard's capture to Philip of France, Dec. 28 (1192).

Res mature defertur ad imperatorem Teutonicum, in Germaniæ tunc[3] partibus constitutum. Qui nimirum vel imperialis vel etiam Christianæ negligens honestatis, et occasione captivi insignis diripiendis[4] plurimarum regionum opibus inhians, gavisus est valde. Moxque regem Francorum suæ lætitiæ fieri volens participem, gratissimum illi super aurum et topazion quinto kalendas Januarii a Renhenza[5] nuntium destinavit. Ille vero lætatus super infelicitate aliena, sicut qui invenit spolia multa, sinistrum prin- Ps. cxviii. 162.
cipis eventum ad frangendos subditorum animos mox late vulgavit, animumque hostilem declarans, ut perpetua captivi esset dejectio modis omnibus agendum putavit. Denique magnis pollicitationibus sollicitare atque allicere sibi curavit Johannem, captivi regis germanum, in Anglia, Hibernia, Normannia, multarum virium opumque virum. Quem profecto facile ad suas potuit partes traducere, jampridem quantum[6] regni fraterni, tantum et fraterni periculi cupidum. Accepto ergo idem in Anglia constitutus fraternæ captionis nuntio, illico transfretavit, et nutanti regno sperans se facile posse intrudi si Francorum sibi vires adjungeret, inito cum eis fœdere,[7] et fratris in periculo positi fidelitate exsufflata, ejus se hostem inverecun-

The king of France conspires (Jan. 1193) with prince John, who shows himself openly as his brother's enemy.

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[1] *speratis*, D.L.O.S.; *scilicet quod paratis*, C.

[2] *speratis . . . caruit*, C.D.L.O S.; om. B.

[3] *tunc*, B.D.O.S.; om. C.

[4] *diripiendis*, B.C.D.O.S.; *dirimendis*, L.

[5] *Renhenza*, B.D.L.O.S.; *Renbenza*, C. Hoveden reads *Rithincie*, which is not indentifiable. Newburgh is clearly right. *Renhenza* is Rhense or Reuse between Coblentz and Maintz.

[6] B. omits *quantum*.

[7] A treaty is given in the Fœdera, i. 57. See also Hoveden, iii. 204.

dissime declaravit. Rex quoque Francorum imperatorem Teutonicum, ad cujus fortuna [1] regis captivi pendebat arbitrium, affinitate sibi cupiens media devincire,[2] consobrinæ ejus, unicæ scilicet filiæ [3] Palatini comitis, missis ad eum nuntiis, connubium expetivit. Petitionem imperator gratanter amplexus, ejus complendæ gratia comitem Palatinum, virum, ut dicitur, in [4] imperio summæ post imperatorem amplitudinis, accersivit. Nec latuit ea res matrem puellæ. Quæ unicam sobolem secreto conveniens: "Vis," ait, "honorabiles nuptias et thorum regium? Rex enim Francorum te comparem postulat." Tum illa: "Audivi," inquit, "a multis de rege hoc, quomodo fœdaverit atque abjecerit puellam nobilissimam, germanam scilicet regis Dacorum, et vereor exemplum." Ad quam mater; "Et quis," ait, "in votis tuis est potior?" Tum illa: "Si mea," inquit, "vota prosperentur, ab eo certe cui me didici in annis infantiæ desponsatam nunquam disjungar, Henrico scilicet [5] ducis Saxonici filio." Et mater: "Confide," ait, "filia, quia per maternam operam formidato exempta exemplo, optato potieris connubio." Mox eundem Henricum elegantissimum et strenuissimum juvenem, regis Anglorum ex sorore nepotem, virago mirabilis secretis literis accersivit. Qui festinus occurrit, et votis promptissime concurrentibus dilectam virginem, tradente matre, accepit. Qua nimirum propter eventus ancipites accelerante negotium, illico ritu sollemni celebratæ sunt nuptiæ, ut quos Deus jam conjunxisset homo de cetero separare non posset. Interea novæ nuptæ pater ab imperatore inductus ut regiis filiam nuptiis honestaret, actæ rei repente famam accepit. Imperator quoque rem audiens, cre-

A.D. 1194.

Philip Augustus proposes to marry the daughter of the count Palatine, a relation of the emperor.

Her mother secretly marries her to Henry son of the duke of Saxony (A.D. 1194).

Cf. Annal. Stederburg. (Pertz, xvi. 227).

[1] For *fortuna* C. reads *fortunam*.
[2] B. is here incoherent, having *medi denucire* for *media devincire*.
[3] *filiæ*, C.D.L.S; om. B. Agnes daughter of Conrad of Hohenstaufen, brother of Barbarossa.
[4] *in*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.
[5] B. has *simul* for *scilicet*.

A.D. 1194. densque hoc præter ejus conscientiam fieri minime potuisse, acri contra eum motu excanduit, et ad se vocatum mordaciter increpavit, tum quia juvenem oderat, tum quia factum erat aliter quam volebat. Ille vero stomachanti atque objurganti[1] satisfaciens: "Per " salutem," inquit, "tuam, imperator, mea hoc neque " voluntate neque conscientia[2] actum est;[3] sed conju- " gem meam, consobrinam tuam, contemplatione jura- " menti olim a me et illa, felicis memoriæ patris tui " imperio, duci Saxoniæ præstiti, in absentia mea[4] " credo patrasse, unde mihi tua celsitudo succenset." Tum[5] imperator: "Vade," ait, "et, nebulone illo ex- " pulso, rescinde quod actum est." Et ille: "Noli," inquit, "sic loqui, imperator; nam eo usque, ut dici- " tur, res processit, ut absque sempiterno unicæ filiæ " meæ dedecore rescindi non[6] possit." Reversus autem idem ad propria, genero blande locutus est, adoptansque eum in filium, filiam egregie dotavit. Sic ille qui propriam paulo ante cum dedecore[7] repudiaverat conjugem, optatis[8] speratisque, Dei judicio, caruit nuptiis.[9]

Cap. XXXIII.

Quomodo rex Anglorum per ducem Austriæ devenit in custodiam imperatoris.

A.D. 1193. Igitur illustris rex Anglorum a duce Austriæ, qui paulo ante illi in Syria contra Turcos militaverat, tenebatur in vinculis. Imperator autem allegans regem non decere[10] teneri a duce, nec esse indecens si

The emperor of Germany obtains

[1] Imperfect, *objuranti*, C.

[2] D. has *conscientiam*.

[3] *est*, B.D.L.S.; *esse*, C.

[4] *in absentia mea*, B.C.D.L.S.; *absente me*, R.

[5] *tum*, C.D.L.S.; *tunc*, B.

[6] B. omits *non*.

[7] S. has *decore*.

[8] B. has *optans*.

[9] The later events of this chapter happened in 1194 (*Annal. Stadenses*, Pertz, xvi. 352), and are therefore misplaced.

[10] B. has *dicere*.

ab imperatoria celsitudine decus regium teneretur,[1] insignem ad se trahere curavit captivum. Et cum negari non posset, a duce resignatum, in propriam avarus imperator traduxit custodiam, pactus tamen duci competentem provenientis commodi portionem. Sic ergo Christianus imperator avaritia depravatus, memorato regi versus in Saladinum, novo atque inexpiabili nævo Romanum fœdavit imperium. A seculo enim[2] non est auditum, quod aliquis Christianorum vel regum vel imperatorum, quemlibet alium Christianum a sancta militia redeuntem, et per suos fines simpliciter transeuntem, captivaverit principem. Verum

A.D. 1193. — possession of king Richard (Mar.23?)

Virg. Æn. iii. 56.

"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
"Auri sacra fames?"

Imperator Romanus, proh pudor! præ commodi esurie ad omne honestum, omne jus fasque oculos[3] clausit: imperiale decus nescivit: alter esse Saladinus non erubuit. Princeps autem Christianus, qui tam procul a propriis contra Saladinum et Turcos Christo militaverat, ad propria pro tempore cum pio proposito remeans, et in argumentum opportunæ in Orientem[4] regressionis characterem adhuc Dominicum portans, in Alemannia[5] Turcos incurrit[6] pejores, et tanto amariorem quanto et avariorem Saladinum. Qui nimirum avaritiam pallians, et quod fœdissime faciebat adumbratæ justitiæ colore obducens, illustrem captivum concinnatis maculabat mendaciis, et gloriabatur voluntate Dei incidisse in manus suas plectendum severius hostem imperii, et Terræ Sanctæ, in cujus medio Dominus salutem operatus est, proditorem. Denique circa Dominicam Palmarum[7] sollemniter sibi præsentatum, coram omni frequentia nobilium et populi, gravium

Richard appears before the emperor March 21.

[1] B. has the mistake *tenerentur.*
[2] For *enim* C. has *tamen.*
[3] D. has *oculis.*
[4] C. has *Oriente.*
[5] B. has *Almannia.*
[6] *incurrit,* B.C.D.L.S.; *invenit,* R.
[7] Diceto (ii. 106) gives March 23 as the date of Richard's transfer to the emperor.

A.D. 1193.

He refutes the charges brought against him.

Hoved. iii. 199.

His ransom is arranged (Mar. 22).

He is visited by various friends. William Longchamp remains to transact business for him.

Richard sends Hubert bishop of Salisbury (April 20) to superintend the collection of the ransom.

objectu excessuum terrere tentavit. Ille vero hilari fretus conscientia, constanti et libera responsione ita objecta diluit, ut imperator quoque non solum ad misericordiam verum etiam ad reverentiam ejus flecti videretur. Multis enim præ gaudio in lacrimas resolutis, inclinatum regem dignanter erexit, uberiorem de cetero gratiam et profusiora solatia pollicens, re autem vera ingenti summæ, mediante duce Austriæ, ab ipso rege pro sua liberatione[1] promissæ, sitibunde inhians. Unde nec relaxandum duxit quem sic honorare voluit, nullum commodius judicans[2] pignus promissionis quam corpus promissoris. Sane jam visitabatur a plurimis vinctus insignis, et toto detentionis suæ tempore officiosissimam suorum experiebatur circa se caritatem. Venit autem ad eum Eliensis episcopus, principalis ab eo, ut supradictum est, cum ad Orientem tenderet regni procurator relictus, sed a potentibus regni propter mores insolentissimos Anglia jampridem extrusus; et non discedebat ab eo, negotia quidem ejus strenue administrans, sed de suis expulsoribus regiis malum auribus insusurrans. Venerabilis quoque Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, qui ejusdem regis in Syria comes individuus fuerat,[3] cum applicuisset in Sicilia, cognito quod ei acciderat, nam tanti principis casus indignissimus cito insonuit orbi terrarum, properavit ad eum: quem ille mox direxit in Angliam,[4] tum pro necessaria regni cura tum etiam pro maturando suæ redemptionis negotio. Quippe alium non habebat unanimem, de cujus fide, prudentia, et[5] sinceritate tam crebra in variis casibus experimenta sumpsisset.

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[1] The resemblances to Hoveden (iii. 199) in the passage "Ille vero "—liberatione" cannot be accidental. See in Hoveden (i.) rex libere, et constanter et ita intrepide respondit (ii.) nam inclinantem se regem erexit (iii.) in lacrymas ruente præ gaudio (iv.) mediante duce Austriæ, pro sua liberatione.

[2] *judicans*, B.C.D.S.; *indicans*, L.

[3] *fuerat*, C.D.L.S.; *erat*, B.

[4] C. has *Anglia*.

[5] *et*, B.D.L.S.; *vel*, C.

Cap. XXXIV.

Quomodo rex Francorum invasit Normanniam, et quomodo Johannes turbavit Angliam.

Rebus igitur ita se circa regem Anglorum habentibus, Philippus rex Francorum missis ad eum in Alemanniam a latere suo viris honoratis, hominium,[1] quo sibi astrictus videbatur, sollenniter refutavit, bellumque vincto indicens, hostile propositum declaravit. Indecorum plane fœdumque visum est omnibus homini vincto et sui penitus impoti bellum indicere, sed "malitia nocendi avida respectum[2] honesti non "habet." Displicere visa est imperatoriæ majestati regiæ personæ tanta indignitas, eique ut a vincti rebus quiesceret, supplicandum putavit. Porro ille promissis ingentibus, et[3] vel coæquantibus[4] vel etiam excedentibus summam a vincto promissam, imperatorem tentavit corrumpere, ut eundem sibi cautius custodiendum traderet, allegans mundum componi non posse si tantus turbator[5] emergeret. Et imperatoris quidem animum minus solidum forte ad hoc pellicere potuit; sed potentes imperii vinctum ingenue miserantes, nefariæ molitioni obstitere. Ille vero, erumpente malitia, quiescere nescius, congregato exercitu invasit Normanniam; moxque Gisorcium, castellum nobile et munimentis abundans, cujusdam Gilleberti,[6] cujus modicæ fidei creditum fuerat, proditione recepit. Consequenter ad quædam alia versus castella, neminem obsistentem invenit. Ita quippe indigna sors principis subditorum animos fregerat atque omnem in

A.D. 1193.

The king of France declares war against Richard while yet a prisoner.

He endeavours to outbid the ransom, but the German princes frustrate his efforts.

Invades Normandy.

Gisors is traitorously resigned to him (April 12).

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[1] *hominum*, B.

[2] D. has *respectu.*

[3] *et*, D.L.S.; om. B.C.

[4] *coæquantibus*, C.L.S.; *æquantibus*, B.D.

[5] *turbator*, C.D.L.S.; *jurgator*, B.

[6] *Gilleberti*, D.L.S.; *Gilberti*, B.C. Gilbert of Vacoeuil, who also gave up Neaufle, Hoved., iii. 206.

A.D. 1193.

Gains Aumale and other castles without fighting, and summons Rouen to surrender.

The earl of Leicester defends the city, and the king gives up the attack (April 29).

eis fiduciam enervarat,[1] ut tanquam oves non habentes pastorem, vel sponte manus darent vel a facie fugerent insequentis.[2] Cumque jam Albemarliam,[3] Augum, atque alia castella plurima in ejus matura deditione potestatem transissent, metropolim Normanniæ Rothomagum cum exercitu adiit, atque ore terricrepo cunctis sibi obstituris[4] intentans exitium,[5] urbem resignari præcepit. At comes Leicestrensis, regis Anglorum comes in Orientali expeditione[6] fidissimus, præcognito ejus adventu, paulo ante urbem ingressus, animos civium erexerat, atque ut contra hostem immanissimum viriliter agerent egregie roborarat. Ille vero urbe per dies aliquot frustra oppugnata, et jactura majori accepta quam illata,[7] recessit, atque ad faciliora exercitum negotia revocans, munitiones nobiles Pasci et Iveri absque multa difficultate obtinuit.

Peace is arranged (July 9).

Tunc ad frenandum ejus pro tempore impetum, illi, qui res vincti utcunque gerebant, inducias[8] ad tempus certum ingentis summæ[9] pactione redimendas duxerunt, et quatuor castella electa loco pignoris[10] tradiderunt.

John's perfidy rouses the barons, who besiege Windsor.

Nec Johannes, ex regni ambitu hostis naturæ effectus, illis diebus a fratris infestatione quievit, regis Francorum in omnibus cooperator effulgens. Quippe illo in finibus Normanniæ debacchante, hic fretus munitionibus regiis,[11] quas fratri in Oriente constituto dolose subtraxerat, catervis improborum undecunque contractis, Angliæ turbabat provincias, atque infinita

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[1] Cf Hoveden, iii. 206, 7.

[2] *insequentis*, C.L.S.; *insistentis*, B.D.

[3] C., by alteration, has *Albemarlia.*

[4] *obstituris*, B.C.D.L.S.; *restitutis*, R.

[5] R. has *exeidium.*

[6] *Orientali expeditione*, B.C.D. L.S.; *Oriente*, R.

[7] *illata*, B.C.D.S.; *illa*, L.

[8] This treaty is given by Hoveden, iii. 217–20.

[9] *ingentis summæ*, B.D.L.S.; *ingentissimæ*, C.

[10] In C., by imperfect alteration, the word stands *pingioris.*

[11] *regiis*, B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

in caput perfidum maledicta congerebat. Regni autem optimates, fide integri animisque infracti, collecta manu valida, vecordissimi[1] juvenis nefariis se ausibus opposuerunt, et castellum Windesoram[2] quod[3] in ejus ditionem[4] inciderat, diu et fortiter oppugnantes, ad deditionem coegerunt. Nam cum Johannes videret suos, quibus subvenire non poterat, periclitari obsessos, pro eorum salute inducias ad tempus definitum[5] petiit, et castellum resignavit; quo facto transfretans,[6] ad regem Francorum se contulit.

A.D. 1193.

Surrender of Windsor (April).

John quits England for France (July.)

Cap. XXXV.

Quomodo Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus factus est archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et de ecclesia contradictionis.[7]

Eodem tempore vinctus insignis salubri instinctu Cantuariensem ecclesiam vacare diutius noluit; nam venerabili Balduino, qui, ut superius dictum est, sub charactere dominico in Orientem profectus[8] Tyri decesserat, nullus adhuc in ejusdem ecclesiæ sollicitudine pastorali successerat.[9] Scripsit ergo rex de Alemannia episcopis ceterisque ad quos tantum spectabat negotium, ut primæ sedis pro tempore providentiam habentes, metropolitani electionem maturarent. Nec propriæ provisionis arbitrium tacuit, sed virum in quo sibi complacebat, utpote in multis probatum et præ-

A.D. 1193.

By Richard's desire the monks of Canterbury meet the bishops and elect Hubert bishop of Salisbury to the see of Canterbury (May 30).

[1] B. has the error *recordissimi.*

[2] *Windesoram,* D.L.S.; *Wyndesoram,* B.; *Windosoram,* C.

[3] *quod,* R.; *quæ,* B.C.D.L.S.

[4] B. and C. have *ditione.*

[5] *definitum,* D.L.S.; *diffinitum,* a mediæval form, B.C. The truce was till November.

[6] *transfretans,* B.D.L.S.; om. C. Hoveden, iii. 217, says, receiving the celebrated message, "the devil "is let loose."

[7] *et de . . . contradictionis,* C.D. L.S.; om. B.

[8] *profectus,* B.D.L.S.; *profecto,* C.

[9] *nullus adhuc . . . successerat,* B.C.D.L.S.; om. R.

A.D. 1193. clare agnitum, electuris commendabat.[1] Itaque Cantuarienses cum episcopis convenientes, approbata voluntate regia, Hubertum Salesbiriensem episcopum ad primæ sedis regimen concorditer et sollemniter elegerunt. Qui nimirum, postulato atque accepto a Romano pontifice pallio, inthronizatus, mox sumpto apud Meretonam[2] canonicæ professionis habitu, religiosæ mentis propositum cultu exteriori declaravit. Cantuariensibus sane, quos prædecessoris sui fervor paulo indiscretior exulcerarat, salvo defuncti honore, molestus non fuit. Nempe idem Cantuariensibus, ut dicitur, monachis[3] plus justo infestus, proprium eligendi pontificem jus et prærogativam transferre ab eis voluit. Hujus rei gratia ecclesiam majoris ecclesiæ, in qua monachi ministrant, quasi æmulam Cantuariæ fabricare adorsus,[4] præbendas quoque clericorum ibidem instituit, ubi, videlicet, defuncto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, suffraganei convenirent, et simul[5] cum ejusdem loci clericis de successoris electione deliberarent. Cantuarienses vero monachi in suæ dignitatis præjudicium hoc fieri non ferentes, ingentis controversiæ turbinem suscitarunt, et priore proprio cum aliis pluribus emisso, sedem Apostolicam interpellarunt. Et archiepiscopus quidem favore regio fortior, subactis et protritis non sine bello et sanguine contradictoribus, urgebat opus; quod tamen postmodum adversariis per Apostolicæ sedis judicium et fortia mandata invalescentibus, coactus est intermittere. Denique tam fœda contentio[6] inter pastorem et oves proprias per annos aliquot cum multo scandalo tracta est, dum neutra pars cedendum putaret, et utraque palmam

Archbishop Hubert pacifies the monks of Canterbury, whom Baldwin had endeavoured to rob of the right of election to the primatial see.

Appeals had been made to Rome, but Baldwin's death ended the quarrel (Jan. 1186 to 19 Nov. 1190).

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[1] *commendabat*, C.L.S.; *commendavit*, B.D.

[2] *Meretonam*, C.D.L.S.; *Merentonam*, B.

[3] B. has *monachus*.

[4] At Hackington, a suburb of Canterbury. The chronicle of Gervase teems with information as to this lengthened quarrel.

[5] *et simul*, C.D.L.S.; *scilicet*, B.

[6] *contentia* (sic), B.

dare alteri ignominiosissimum judicaret. Quamobrem cum idem pontifex in hoc plane indiscretior, alias vero vir bonus, prudens,[1] et religiosus, in Oriente tam procul ab ecclesia propria defecisset, Cantuarienses parcioribus [2] eum lamentis plangentes, opus illud, quod totius dissensionis seminarium fuerat, jampridem intermissum motu subito cum ingenti lætitia complanarunt. A.D. 1193.

Cap. XXXVI.[3]

Quomodo Hugo Cestrensis episcopus destruxit monasterium Coventrense.

A.D. 1189–93.

The author blames archbishop Baldwin's preference for secular canons over monks.

Mirandum sane est tantum virum, venerabilem dico Balduinum,[4] qui ex archidiacono Cisterciensis ordinis monachus, moxque abbas, et ex abbate Wigorniensis [5] episcopus, et ex suffraganeo metropolitanus, recipiens scilicet ab eo archiepiscopatum pro quo dimisit archidiaconatum: mirandum est, inquam, spectatæ [6] religionis virum, illud genus, canonicos scilicet seculares,[7] propagare voluisse, cum salubrem impendere operam, ut idem genus minus abundaret atque in genus religiosum transiret, magis eum videatur decuisse; quod utique olim sancti pontifices et principes in Anglia fecisse noscuntur. Quippe in præclaris ecclesiis, Cantuariensi scilicet et Wintoniensi,[8] seculares olim clerici ministrarunt: quibus nimirum religiosi illi, Dei nutu potestatem habentes, optionem dederunt ut vel

His predecessors had made

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[1] *prudens*, B.C.D.R.S.; *et prudens*, L.

[2] *parcioribus*, B.D.L.S.; *paucioribus*, C.

[3] R. omits the whole of this chapter.

[4] *Balduinum*, D.L.S; *Baldewynum*, B.; *Baldiwinum*, C.

[5] *Wigorniensis*, C.L.S.; *Wigornensis*, B.D.

[6] *spectatæ*, B.C.L.S.; *spectare*, D.

[7] *seculares*, B.C.D.S.; *regulares*, L.

[8] *Wigornensi*, with *Wintoniensi* in margin, C.

A.D. 1189–93. beneficia atque officia, quibus indigni censebantur, relinquerent, vel in sacræ religionis propositum laudabili[1] mutatione transirent. Quibus, dum salubriter cogerentur, vel cedentibus vel mutatis, decorem domus Dei usque in hodiernum diem religiosa melius collegia conservarunt. Religiosus ergo pontifex nostris temporibus illud genus propagare non debuit, cujus utique per salubrem conversionem minuendi occasio potius, cooperante Christo, quærenda fuit. Verum Hugonis Nunantini, Cestrensis sive Coventrensis episcopi, flagrans adhuc maleficium longe præponderat, quod silentio prætereundum non est.

changes in the opposite direction.

Hugh of Nunant, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, machinates against the monks of Coventry.

Coventrense[2] cœnobium a nobilibus olim Anglis pia devotione fundatum, ditatum, ornatum, per annos fere trecentos inter ecclesias Anglicanas enituit, et propter suam claritatem Cestrensis episcopi, ut et Coventrensis diceretur, multo tempore in multa pace sedes fuit. Hunc venerabilem locum cum quidam satelles diaboli, Robertus scilicet Marmiun, sub rege Stephano spoliatum profanasset, divinæ, ut suo loco dictum est, severitati subjacuit, atque idem locus ad suam, Deo auctore, claritatem mox rediens, usque ad præsentium fæcem temporum quietus permansit. Quippe ante annos aliquot memoratus Hugo Nunantinus[3] homo callidus, audax, inverecundus,[4] et ad ausus improbos literatura eloquentiaque instructus, cum forte occulto Ejus judicio "Qui facit hypochritam reg- Job. xxxiv. 30.
"nare propter peccata populi," Cestrensem fuisset episcopatum adeptus, modis omnibus moliri cœpit ut exclusis illius loci monachis, de rebus eorum suo distribuendas arbitrio præbendas faceret clericorum. Denique inter priorem et monachos discordias serens vel

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[1] *laudabili*, B.D.L.S.; *bona*, C.

[2] *Coventrense*, B.C.L.S.; *Conventrense*, D., with similar spelling below.

[3] B. has *Nunatinus*.

[4] His letter as to William Longchamp (Bened. Petrob. ii. p. 215) goes far towards justifying these epithets. See R. Divis., p. 9, respecting the personal violence offered to Nunant by the monks.

nutriens, cum in eadem ecclesia, astu nefario, pessimarum inquietudinum scandala suscitasset, occasione captata, manu armata expulit universos, tanquam manifestos atque incorrigibiles pacis ecclesiasticæ turbatores, reosque enormium criminum quibus[1] infamabat. Mox ad sedem Apostolicam instructos responsales direxit, monachos ecclesiæ Coventrensis, deserta religiosa militia, ad seculum relapsos insinuans, atque[2] ejusdem ecclesiæ pro arbitrio suo ordinandæ liberam postulans facultatem. Romanus vero pontifex sub cauta exspectatione, si forte aliquis ex parte monachorum adveniens in contrarium allegaret, per menses sex sententiam suspendit: quibus expletis, cum nullus pro monachis adesset, petentis episcopi voluntatem implevit. Quippe ut monachi tardius advenirent sumptuum[3] fecit inopia. Qui tamen vel sero advenientes, et violentæ expulsionis injuriam multo tempore deplorantes, prævalente episcopi vel potentia vel astutia sive pecunia, usque in hunc diem pro revocanda atque evacuanda semel per surreptionem elicita[4] et præmature lata, frustra laborasse noscuntur sententia. Nondum[5] enim ulla detestandi operis provenit correctio;[6] sed monachis pro toleranda[7] inopia late dispersis, bona eorum ab eodem episcopo in præbendas[8] divisa seculares clerici, ipso[9] auctore, possi-

A.D. 1189–93.

He first sows seeds of discord, and then on plea of scandal ousts the monks (Oct. 9, 1189).

The monks appeal too late to the pope.

They remain in exile from their convent.

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[1] *quibus*, C.L.S.; *quibus eos*, B.D.

[2] *atque*, B.D.L.S.; *at*, C.

[3] B. has *sumptum*.

[4] *elicita*, B.D.L.S.; *illicita*, C.

[5] B. has *non*.

[6] This remark bears on the question of the date of the conclusion of our author's task. The last event which he chronicles (the red rain at Andely) occurred in May 1198. Not only did Nunant die in the previous March, but the monks of Coventry were actually restored on Jan. 11, 1198. These facts must ultimately have reached the author if living. Indeed it seems strange that news from Andely should have outstripped tidings from Coventry. There is no correction or note in S., the Newburgh Priory copy. As to the monks, see Gervase, i. 550, Hoveden, iii. 168, and Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 69.

[7] B. has *celeranda*.

[8] For *præbendas* L. has *præbenda*.

[9] *ipso*, B.C.L.S.; *episcopo*, D.

A.D. 1189–93.

Hugh de Nunant availed himself of Longchamp's help in this affair, but afterwards became his enemy.

dent. Et ipse quidem in tanti ausus vel patratione vel defensione cooperatore pro tempore usus est Eliensi episcopo, qui sub nomine cancellarii regii eo tempore quasi regnare videbatur, cum eidem in arrepta tyrannide consiliarius et coadjutor petulanti vanitate exsisteret. Post modicum[1] vero solita levitate ab ipso deficiens, adversario ejus Johanni regis fratri adhæsit, eumque, ut dicitur, ad[2] rebellandum contra fratrem pestilentibus consiliis imbuit. Verum cum idem rex in Alemannia detentus visitaretur a suis, ipse quoque inter ceteros properavit ad eum, ut ejus circa se animum exploraret, seque dissimulatione callida ab infami, quæ illi inurebatur a plurimis, perfidiæ nota purgaret. Et cum principem adumbratæ[3] devotionis præstigiis non posset deludere, desperata ejus gratia ad propriam sedem reverti minus sibi tutum esse arbitrans, cauteriata comitante conscientia in Franciam concessit.

Bishop Hugh finds king Richard opposed to him, and retires to France.

Cap. XXXVII.

De nece Leodicensis episcopi, cujus occasione pœne periclitatus est rex Anglorum.

A.D. 1193.

Richard's liberation imperilled by the death of the bishop of Liege. The brother of the duke of Louvain

Illustris igitur[4] rex Anglorum Ricardus servabatur in Alemannia: sed, placata imperatoris avaritia, matura ejus liberatio sperabatur. Contigit autem incidenti casu vacillare spem istam, et insignem periclitari captivum hoc modo.[5] Ducis Luvannensis[6] germano ad episcopatum Leodicensem electo, imperatori electio non placuit, verenti scilicet ne forte dux fortis facili

[1] *post modicum*, B.D.L.S.; *postmodum*, C.

[2] *ad*, B.D.L.S.; *cum ad*, C.

[3] D. has *obumbratæ*.

[4] *igitur*, B.D.L.R.S.; *ergo*, C.

[5] This chapter supplements Hoveden (iii. 214) but seems drawn from the same source. See p. 398, l. 24.

[6] *Luvannensis*, D.L.S.; *Luvanensis*, B.; *Luviannensis*, C.

occasione contra imperium junctis sibi fraternis intumesceret viribus, Leodicensis enim episcopus numerosam habere militiam et magnarum esse virium noscitur. Cumque idem electus, imperatore obstante,[1] a proprio consecrari metropolitano non posset, nihilominus, impetrato[2] pontificis Romani mandato ad episcopos Franciæ ut ei manus imponerent, ordinatus est. Et metu quidem iratæ potestatis propriam sedem non adiit, sed motum ejus tempore lenitum iri[3] sperans, in Francia pro tempore demoratus[4] est. Indignatus autem imperator, in indignissimum scelus exarsit. Quippe ab eo, ut creditur, subornati quidam audaces, assumpta exsulum specie, eundem episcopum adiere, suamque apud eum de natali Alemanniæ solo expulsionem callide deplorantes, ita surripuere incauto, ut miseratione vanissima hostes teterrimos in propriam asciseret clientelam. Illi vero patrandi facinoris opportunitatem astu pervigili observantes, quodam forte die spatiandi gratia cum paucissimis urbe egressum repente aggressi, cum uno clerico peremerunt, et, dum comites ejus in urbem refugerent, fuga elapsi evadere potuerunt. Ad[5] ducis quoque memorati astu consimili necem patrandam alii sicarii missi dicuntur, qui forte deprehensi, totius nequitiæ mysterium revelarunt. Denique propter hoc tam grande piaculum, Coloniensis et Magontiensis[6] archiepiscopi, duces quoque Saxonicus,[7] Luvannensis,[8] Lemburgensis,[9] aliique[10] nobiles

A.D. 1193.

being elected bishop of Liege, the emperor Henry VI. fears their joint power and seeks their lives.

His assassins succeed in killing the bishop (Nov. 23, 1192), but those sent against the duke are caught and reveal the plot.

A conspiracy of the nobles follows, and

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[1] *obstante*, B.C.D.L.S.; *obsistente*, R.

[2] *impetrato*, B.C.D.S.; *imperato*, L.

[3] *lenitum iri*, B.C.L.S.; *lenituri*, D.

[4] *demoratus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *moratus*, R.

[5] B. has *at*.

[6] *Magontiensis*, B.D.L.S.; *Magoeiensis*, C.

[7] *Saxonicus . . . nobiles*, B.C.D. L.S.; om. R.

[8] *Luvannensis*, B.D.L.S.; *Luviannensis*, C.

[9] *Lemburgensis*, B.D.L.S.; *Lenburgensis*, C.

[10] *aliique*, B.D.L.S.; *alii quoque*, C.

A.D. 1193.

forces him to look to France for aid.

He proposes to sacrifice Richard's liberty, but the efforts of peace-makers compose the quarrel in time to save the king.

The ransom is fixed, June 28 (29 ?), and Richard is freed from chains.

plurimi animis efferati,[1] contra imperatorem conspiraverunt. Hujus autem necessitatis articulo imperator constrictus, ut sibi Francorum vires adjungeret, cogitavit, rupta fide, tradere in manus[2] regis Francorum, nunquam relaxandæ mancipandum custodiæ, regem Anglorum, et propter hoc illius ad diem certum apud Vallem-Colorum[3] sollemne colloquium concupivit.[4] Verum hoc malignissimæ molitionis colloquium alio saluberrimo præventum et dissipatum est. Viris enim sapientibus et turbationi imperii et periculo regis Anglorum laudabili provisione occurrentibus, inter imperatorem et optimates proprios concordia, Deo propitio, celebrata, universa quæ inter partes emerserat malignandi occasio exspiravit. Post paucos autem[5] dies imperator ad locum ubi rex Anglorum servabatur veniens,[6] præsentibus et mediantibus episcopis, ducibus atque aliis dignitatibus plurimis, per dies aliquot cum eo colloquium habuit, et tandem in vigilia beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum omni, quæ[7] inter eos vertebatur, quæstione decisa, et summa redemptionis regiæ declarata, imperator regem de cetero honestius, id est, sine catena, servari[8] decrevit. Denique, jubente imperatore, episcopi et[9] duces cum universa nobilitate quæ aderat juraverunt in animam imperatoris certam regis liberationem post satisfactionem ejusdem summæ, id est, centum millium librarum argenti; cujus pars tertia duci Austriæ, qui eundem regem captivaverat, competere dicebatur.

Hoved. iii. 215, l. 22.

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[1] *effrænati*, R.

[2] C. has *manu*.

[3] *Vallem-Colorum*, B.D.L.S.; *Vallem-Collorum*, C.

[4] Hoveden (iii., 212 and 214) says fixed in April for June 25. The object was to make peace between Philip and Richard. The latter fearing the consequences of the quarrel as to the bishop arranged a reconciliation between the emperor and his nobles.

[5] *autem* dubiously, B.

[6] *veniens*, B.D.L.R.S.; *adveniens*, C.

[7] *quæ*, C.L.S.; *quæque*, B.D.

[8] B. has *servare*.

[9] *et episcopi et*, C.

Cap. XXXVIII.

Quomodo afflicta sit Anglia per captivitatem regiam.[1]

Eodem tempore rex Anglorum, diutinæ[2] detentionis oppido pertæsus, procuratores regni Anglici cunctosque fideles et devotos suos, qui alicujus momenti esse videbantur, frequentibus commonebat mandatis uti redemptionis suæ pretium modis omnibus præparantes, liberationem suam maturarent. Urgebant ergo negotium in cunctis Angliæ finibus executores regii, nulli parcentes; nec ulla[3] erat distinctio clerici et laici, secularis et[4] religiosi, urbani et rustici, sed omnes indifferenter, vel juxta vires substantiæ suæ vel juxta reddituum quantitatem, indictum pro redemptione regia pecuniæ modum solvere cogebantur. Silebant et vacabant privilegia, prærogativæ, immunitates ecclesiarum et monasteriorum; omnis dignitas sive libertas oppilabat os suum: nec alicui licebat dicere, 'Tantus vel 'talis sum; habete me excusatum.' Cisterciensis quoque ordinis monachi, qui ab omni exactione regia hactenus immunes exstiterant, tanto magis tunc onerati sunt, quanto minus antea publici oneris senserant. Quippe quod illis[5] in substantia præcipuum esse noscitur, et quod fere pro omni redditu ad usus sumptusque necessarios habere videntur,[6] lanam scilicet pecudum suarum, exacti coactique resignarunt. Putabatur quidem tanta pecuniarum coacervatio redemptionis regiæ summam excedere,[7] quam tamen non attigit cum universæ particulæ Lundoniis convenissent ad summam, quod accidisse creditur per fraudem executorum. De-

A.D. 1193.

Collection of the king's ransom.

Laymen and clergy without distinction are compelled to contribute.

Privileges and immunities being suspended, even the Cistercians are taxed.

The first harvest of taxation not producing the expected sum,

[1] *regiam*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[2] B. has *diutroque* (sic).

[3] D. has *nec nulla*.

[4] D. omits *et*.

[5] *illis*, B.D.L.S.; *illud*, C.

[6] *videntur*, B.D.L.S.; *viderentur*, C.

[7] *excedere*, C.D.L.S.; *excederet*, B.

A.D. 1193. nique propter hanc primæ collationis insufficientiam, ministri regii secundam tertiamque instaurant, quosque[1] locupletiores pecuniis spoliant, manifestum rapinarum dedecus honesto[2] redemptionis regiæ nomine[3] palliant. Postremo, ut nulla vacaret occasio, et residuum erucæ locusta, residuum locustæ bruchus, ejusque residuum rubigo absumeret,[4] ad vasa sacra ventum est. Et quoniam ea in redemptionem quorumlibet fidelium captivorum expendi non tantum concessit verum etiam[5] monuit veneranda patrum discretio, multo fortius[6] eadem captivati principis redemptioni debere[7] proficere judicatum est.[8] Itaque per omnem regni Anglici latitudinem traduntur sacri calices exactoribus regiis, vel indulgenter, id est, paulo infra pondus, redimuntur.[9] Cumque jam[10] fere exinanita pecuniis[11] Anglia videretur, et lassatis executoribus regiis, exquirendi quoque pecunias occasiones languescerent, tota tamen[12] illa opum coacervatio, ut dicitur, ad[13] complendam regiæ redemptionis atque expensarum ejus summam minus sufficere potuit. Quamobrem prætaxatæ summæ parte majori ministris imperatoris appensa, rex consulte,[14] ne sua supra modum protraheretur relaxatio, pro parte reliqua imperatori per obsides idoneos satisfecit.

owing, it is said, to peculation, a second and a third collection ensue.

Joel i. 4.

The vessels of the altar are either given up or redeemed.

The sum still falling short of the ransom, it is arranged that hostages may be left for the balance.

[1] *quosque*, B.D.L.R.S.; *tum quosque*, C.

[2] *honesto*, B.C.D.R.S.; *honeste*, L.

[3] *regiæ nomine*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[4] *absumeret*, C.D.L.S.; *adsumeret*, B.

[5] For *etiam* B. has *est*.

[6] B. has *forti*.

[7] *debere*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[8] *judicatum est*, D.L.S.; *invocatum est*, B.; *judicandum est*, C.

[9] See Jocelin de Brakelond, p. 34, as to Eleanor's redemption of the Bury St. Edmund's chalice.

[10] *jam*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.

[11] *pecuniis*, B.C.D.R.S.; altered to *pecuniæ* in L.

[12] *tamen*, C.D.L.S.; *tam*, B.

[13] For *ad* B. has *ut*.

[14] *consulte*, C.D.L.S.; *consultor*, B.

Cap. XXXIX.

De prodigio ruboris insoliti, ter in aere diversis temporibus apparentis.

A.D. 1192-3.

Three appearances of the aurora borealis are regarded as portents. The first occurred in January 1192.

Ea tempestate per occasionem captionis regiæ, Anglia sub multiplici, et quantam[1] prius nec vereri poterat, attritione gemebat; cujus mali[2] atrocitas recentibus, ut creditur, e cœlo prodigiis claruit. Denique illius anni quo idem rex in manus hostium incidit, mense Januario, signum in cœlo terribile vidimus, venturæ proculdubio afflictionis nostræ præsagum.[3] Nam circa primam noctis vigiliam media inter boream et subsolanum cœli plaga ita rubuit ut quasi ardere videretur, cum nec[4] levi obduceretur nubecula, sed sidera clare micarent: eodem tamen rubore igneo et quasi albentibus lineis interciso ita infecta ut luce quadam sanguinea rutilarent. Cumque hæc horribilis[5] species per cunctos Angliæ fines duarum fere horarum spatio oculos animosque cum stupore intuentium tenuisset intentos, tandem paulatim evanescens, multa sui quæstione relicta, disparuit. Anni vero sequentis mense Februario, cum jam rex Anglorum in Alemannia teneretur, detentionis ejus nondum in Anglia rumore vulgato,[6] simillimum plaga cœli non mutata per universam Angliam signum emicuit, post mediam noctem, cum viri religiosi consuetis Domino laudibus concreparent; quos nimirum in diversis provinciis exhorrendi ruboris repercussione per fenestras vitreas ita territos novimus, ut plurimi casum incendii in ædificiis proximis[7] accidisse putantes, relicta psalmodia exsilirent, et, notato signo horribili, stupidi psalmodiæ se redderent. Cumque iterati signi non[8] parva esset

The second in February 1193 occurring at the hour of Lauds, was supposed to be a conflagration.

[1] *quantam*, B.C.D.S.; *quanta*, L. by alteration.

[2] *mali*, C.D.L.S.; *male*, B.

[3] *præsagum*, B.D.S.; *præsagium*, C.L.

[4] *nec*, B.D.L.S.; *vero*, C.

[5] *horribilis*, B.C.D.S.; *horribiles*, L.

[6] It became known to John early in January (see p. 384, l. 20, 21, and Hoveden, iii. 204, l. 3, 4).

[7] *proximis*, B.C.D.S.; *plurimis*, L.

[8] *non*, C.D.L.S.; *in*, B.

A.D. 1192-3.

The third appearance was on November 2, 1193.

quæstio, subito captionis regiæ fama percrebruit. Eodem sane anno cum jam morosa esset in Alemannia regis detentio, et speraretur[1] matura ejus liberatio, quarto nonas Novembris, ante crepusculum matutinum idem ipsum signum in eadem cœli plaga tertio apparens, minus quidem jam illi assuetos intuentium animos terruit, sed quæstionem suspicionemque auxit portenti.

Cap. XL.

Quomodo rex Francorum, cum non posset impedire liberationem regis[2] Anglorum, iterum invasit Normanniam.[3]

A.D. 1194.

The day for king Richard's release is fixed (for Jan. 17).

Cum igitur illustris rex Anglorum Ricardus, redemptionis suæ majori parte, ut dictum est, avaro imperatori appensa, pro reliqua ex nobilibus, qui ad eum visitandum accesserant, exactum obsidum numerum tradidisset,[4] tandem post diutinam detentionem certus dies relaxationis ejus sollemniter designatus et præfixus est. Quod ubi innotuit regi Francorum atque hosti naturæ Johanni, desperantes se jam non[5] posse ad perpetuandam insignis captivi detentionem animum imperatoris corrumpere, modis omnibus[6] nisi[7] sunt eam saltem in annum sequentem protelare,[8] scilicet ut hoc spatio terras ditionis ejus,[9] nullo obsistente, libere occuparent, quo facto inanis foret ejus post annum regressus. Cum ergo pro hac re imperatori per nuntios supplicarent, et non imparem acceptæ a rege Anglorum pecuniæ summam promitterent, ille supra modum corruptibilis proprios super hoc[10] opti-

Philip and prince John try (January) to get the release postponed in order that they may have time to seize Richard's possessions.

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[1] *speraretur*, B.D.L.S.; *sperabatur*, C.

[2] *regis*, C.D.L.S.: *regi*, B.

[3] *Normaniam* in D.

[4] *tradidisset*, B.D.L.S.; *tradidisse*, C.

[5] *non*, thus in C.L.S.; om. B.D.

[6] *omnibus*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[7] *nisi*, the word in L. is doubtful.

[8] Cf. Hoveden, iii. 229, lines 18, 19. The agreements between the two authors are still very close. See p. 405, note 1.

[9] *ejus*, B.C.D.L.S.; *suæ*, R.

[10] *super hoc*, C.D.L.S.; *suos*, B.

A.D. 1194.

mates consuluit. Qui nimirum imperatoriæ levitati succensentes,[1] honestioris consilii pondere obstiterunt, dicentes: "Sufficit, domine imperator, hucusque fœdatum esse indigna nobilissimi regis captione imperium, nec inexpiabilem imperiali maculam generes honestati." Itaque infecto[2] fœdissimæ molitionis negotio, nuntii redeuntes dominos suos animis saucios reddiderunt. Erat autem hiems, et tempus bello prorsus inhabile, nec tamen erga[3] regem captivum flagrantis poterant malitiæ studia defervere. Denique rex Francorum, Johanne cooperatore,[4] ruptis concinnata occasione induciis, quarum respectu modicum quievisse videbatur, iterum invasit Normanniam, et ferocissimorum olim indigenarum languentibus animis eo quod non haberent ducem nec præceptorem nec principem, civitatem Ebroicensem cum castellis pluribus minimo et incruento[5] fere negotio occupavit. Verum post multam debacchationem quasi lassatus, suspensa ad tempus, revocatis induciis, feritate quievit.

The princes of Germany persuade the emperor to keep faith with Richard (Feb. 2–4).

The king of France and prince John again invade Normandy.

They take Evreux, but after a time another truce is made.

Sane nec in Anglia illis diebus pax fida vel tuta erat, cum et munitiones Johannis, gentem peccatricem et prædarum avidam continentes, provinciarum quietem turbarent, et provinciales, accepto ex Alemannia regis mandato, earundem munitionum[6] oppugnationem atque obsidionem pararent.

The English barons begin (February) to reduce John's castles.

Sane inter Eboracensem archiepiscopum et clerum proprium fœda illis diebus contentio vertebatur, nata quidem ex levi causa, tanquam ex scintillula[7] rogus ingens. Cujus initium, progressum atque exitum contextim[8] exponere commodior locus erit.[9]

Quarrel between the archbishop of York and his clergy.

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[1] See Hoveden, iii. 229.

[2] B. has *infectæ*.

[3] *erga*, C.D.L.S.; om. B.

[4] B. has *cooperatorie*; R. has *cooperante*.

[5] *incruento*, B.D.L.S.; *cruento*, C. As to Evreux see lib. v. cap. 2.

[6] B. has *munitionem*.

[7] *scintillula*, B.D.L.S.; *scintilla*, C.

[8] *contextim*, B.D.S.; C. and L. avoid the unusual word by the reading *contextum*.

[9] For *erit*, B. has *errore* (sic). This promise is one of those (see p. 108, note 3, and p. 164, note 3) which Newburgh does not fulfil. As to the quarrel see Hoveden iii. 222, under date 1193.

Cap. XLI.

Quomodo rex Anglorum de captivitate relaxatus applicuit in Anglia.[1]

A.D. 1194.

King Richard is released in the month of January (Feb. 4 ?). He leaves the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Bath and many nobles as hostages. The emperor is said to have repented of the release and to have sent men to recapture king Richard.

Igitur rex Anglorum post Alemannicæ detentionis tædium, quod jam annum excesserat, mense tandem Januario sollemniter relaxatus est,[2] relictisque apud imperatorem loco obsidum Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, Batoniensi[3] episcopo, et nobilibus plurimis, sive pro expletione summæ nondum persolutæ sive etiam pro quorundam fide pactorum, portum qui Swina[4] dicitur adiit, inde in regnum proprium, Deo propitio, transiturus. Verum cum ibidem diuscule demorari cogeretur, sive necessarii apparatus gratia sive etiam propter flatus adversos, indultæ ei gratiæ, ut dicitur, imperatorem pœnituit, et relaxatum ad perpetuam revocare custodiam cogitavit. Nam sicut olim[5] Pharao et Ægyptii, quos Deus induraverat, pœnitentia ducti quod populum Dei, quem servitute oppresserant, tandem vel coacti dimisissent, dixerunt: "Quid voluimus[6] facere ut dimitteremus Israel ne "serviret nobis?" ita etiam perfidus ille imperator et Alemanni cum regem Christianum, quem sola turpis lucri gratia diutina custodia coarctarant,[7] sera tandem clementia relaxassent: "Quid," inquiunt, "fe-

Exod. xiv. 5.

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[1] L. has *in Angliam.*

[2] Other authorities give Feb. 4 as the date.

[3] *Batoniensi*, B.D.L.S.; *Bathoniensi*, C.

[4] *Swina*, B.C.L.S.; *Suuina* with *Swina* in margin, D.

[5] R. compresses the passage *Nam sicut olim . . . . non relaxandus in secula* (p.405, l. 12) into "missisque "satellitibus suis ut comprehenderent principem, 'Revocetur,' inquit, 'ad vincula non "relaxanda in secula.'"

[6] Neither Hoveden, Coggeshall, nor Richard the Canon has any reference to this story. In this and other places, notably those in which there are verbal coincidences with Hoveden and Coggeshall, Newburgh seems to draw on some work now lost, perhaps that of Anselm the chaplain.

[7] *coarctarant*, B.C.D.S.; *coarctarent*, L.

"cimus, emittentes[1] ad orbis periculum tremendi ro- "boris et sævitiæ singularis tyrannum? Et quidem "olim, elementis tradentibus, datus in manus nostras, "eisdem etiam nunc adversantibus, reditumque ad "propria negantibus, ejusdem[2] procul dubio sortis dis- "crimen exspectat. Ergo velociter revocetur ad vin- "cula, non relaxandus in secula." Non latuit ne- quissimæ molitionis susurrium quendam ejusdem forte regis benivolum; qui tantæ malignitatis mysterium[3] nihil tale suspicanti festino significans nuntio, cautum eum reddidit, et ut se confestim navigio in portum[4] daret, seque potius elementis quam infidis hominibus crederet, amica sollicitudine monuit. Quod et[5] factum est tam celeri quam et salubri cautela. Mox imperatorii, ut dicitur, apparitores affuere, atque impotentes nobilem prædam, in arido non inventam,[6] per liquidum persequi, cum suæ frustrationis excusatione congrua ad præceptorem perfidum rediere. Qui sera sibi pœnitudine imputans irregressibilis captivi elapsum, præcipitem motum in innoxios obsides[7] transtulit, ac[8] prius apud se indulgentius liberiusque habitos arctiori custodia castigavit. Porro regem Anglorum, a facie hostilium satellitum refugientem in pelagus, secundi flatus excipientes, et quasi satisfacientes pro eo quod illum anno præterito Alemanniæ immanitati prodiderant, salvum atque incolumem cum omni comitatu regno proprio reddiderunt. Applicans ergo apud portum[9] Sandwicum[10] mense Martio, tempore Qua-

A.D. 1194.

Richard is warned of the treacherous design, and sails in time to evade his pursuers.

The emperor vents his anger at the failure on the hostages.

Richard reaches Sandwich, March (13).

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[1] *emittentes*, B.D.L.S.; *remittentes*, C.

[2] *ejusdem*, C.D.L.S.; *ejusdemque*, B.

[3] C., by alteration, reads *ministerium*.

[4] *portum*, C.L S.; *pontum*, B.D.

[5] *et*, B.D.L.S.; *etiam*, C.

[6] *inventam*, B.D.L.S.; *invectam*, C.

[7] *innoxios obsides*, B.D.L.S., *innoxios pauperes obsides*, by correction, C.

[8] *ac*, B.D.L.S.; *at*, C.

[9] *portum*, D.; *pontum*, B.; *porticum*, C.L.S., a curious agreement of three of the best MSS. in favour of an absurd reading. R. has the same. The termination is clearly derived from *Sandicum* which follows in S.

[10] *Sandwicum*, C.; *Sandicum*, B.D.S.; *Santwicum*, L.

A.D. 1194. dragesimalis jejunii, tunc primum captivitate liberatum se credidit cum, navi egrediens, Anglicum solum calcavit.

Cap. XLII.

Quomodo rex, pacificato regno, Wintoniæ coronatus est.

A.D. 1194.

Rejoicings at the king's return.

Diu exspectatum et jam fere desperatum principis regressum Euro velocior fama vulgavit. Mox a provincialibus congratulatorio exceptus occursu, venit Lundonias; quæ nimirum, adventu ejus præcognito, sumpsere oleum gaudii pro luctu, et pallium laudis pro spiritu mœroris. Denique ad ingressum principis ita ornata [1] est facies amplissimæ civitatis ut Alemanni nobiles qui cum ipso venerant, et redemptione regia exinanitam bonis Angliam credebant, conspecta [2] opum magnitudine obstupescerent. Quorum unus in ipsa pompa sollemni, ut dicitur,[3] conversus ad principem:

The Germans in Richard's train are amazed at the wealth of London.

"Mira,"[4] inquit, "prudentia, o rex, callet gens tua, "quæ te sibi [5] nunc reddito opum suarum claritatem "secure ostentat, paulo ante paupertatis deploratrix "dum nostri te imperatoris custodia detineret. Revera "enim si has opes Anglicas ille præscire potuisset,[6] "Angliam non facile posse exhauriri opibus credidis- "set, nec te nisi sub intoleranda redemptionis summa "dimittendum duxisset."

Few of the nobility met the king, most being absent besieging John's strongholds.

Sane regresso regi optimatum et procerum regni admodum pauci occurrerant, quia fere omnes de mandato regio circa oppugnandas munitiones Johannis justa necessitate occupati erant. Et quidem ante principis ad propria reditum, munitionem de Merleberle fortiter oppugnatam morosa [7] difficilique opera ceperant, tunc vero Notingeham [8]

[1] *ornata*, B.D.L.S.; *coronata*, C.

[2] B. has *conspecta ut*.

[3] R. omits *ut dicitur*.

[4] R., in place of the passage *Mira . . . . custodia detineret*, has the single word *dixit*.

[5] *sibi*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[6] *ille præscire potuisset*, B.C.D.L.S.; *imperator præsciret*, R.

[7] *morosa*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[8] *Notingeham*, C.D.S.; *Notingham*, B.; *Nothingeham*, L.

et Tikehil,[1] castella munitissima diverso[2] exercitu obsidebant. Rex autem post recens captivitatis tædium, pausam et delicias aspernatus, mora exigua Lundoniis facta, Notingeham[3] festinus contendit.[4] Est autem[5] idem castellum natura et manu ita munitum, ut sola inedia, si defensores idoneos habeat, expugnabile[6] videatur. Porro adversus hoc malum provisione sagaci habebat in annos plurimos reposita ciborum subsidia, armorum quoque et virorum fortium copiam. Verum cum rex, qui[7] a malevolis nunquam rediturus putabatur, repentinus adesset, ita illorum qui in munitione erant ejus inopinata præsentia perstricti[8] et quasi fascinati sunt animi, ut sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic eorum omnis fiducia a facie quasi gigantis subito apparentis liquesceret, statimque de castri[9] inexpugnabilis, et nulla re necessaria ad tolerandam obsidionem diutinam indigentis, deditione enerves et languidi pertrectarent. Cumque apud ferocissimum principem honestam non possent gratiam invenire, pudendis conditionibus munitionem cum omni armatura, supellectiii atque[10] subsidio resignantes, sua quoque corpora pro declinanda severitate judicii incertæ atque inexpressæ misericordiæ tradiderunt. Qui autem in alia munitione erant, quæ disparis esse firmitatis noscitur, paulo excusabilius in idem periculum et dedecus inciderunt. Itaque rex levi negotio firmissimas munitiones obtinuit, eisque qui se[11] dediderant sub spe clementiæ custodiæ mancipatis, Johanni

A.D. 1194.

The barons had captured Marlborough before the king's return, and were attacking Nottingham and Tickhill. The king (Mar. 25) presses forward to Nottingham, and the garrison losing heart surrenders (Mar. 28).

Tickhill similariy surrenders.

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[1] *Tikehil*, B.D.S.; *Tykehil*, C.; *Tikeil*, L.

[2] *diverso*, C.L.S.; *diviso*, B.D.

[3] *Notingeham*, C.D.S.; *Notigham*, B.; *Nothingeham*, L.

[4] *contendit*, B.D.L.S.; *conscendit*, by alteration, C.

[5] *autem*, B.C.L.S.; *ante* ? D.

[6] *expugnabile*, B.D.L.S.; *inexpugnabile*, by alteration, C.

[7] *qui*, B.D.L.S.; om. C.

[8] *perstricti*, C.D.L.S.; *præstricti*, B.

[9] S. has *castra*.

[10] *supellectili atque*, B.D.L.S.; *et supellectili*, C.

[11] *se* perhaps omitted from C., but the reading is uncertain through alterations.

A.D. 1194.

John is adjudged to be deprived of all his power.

fratri suo, cui per immoderatam atque indiscretam largitatem cornua contra se dederat, ob enormem culpam ingratitudinis atque perfidiæ omne jus pristinum sollemni judicio procerum abjudicavit. Sic ergo tanti [1] turbatoris, qui paulo ante regni Anglici tetrarcha esse videbatur, abrasa potentia, omnis [2] in Anglia motus hostilis [3] conquievit. His, Deo propitio, feliciter gestis, rex ad superiora remeans, sollemnitatem Paschalem Hamtonæ [4] in multa lætitia cum optimatum suorum frequentia celebravit; atque in octavis Paschæ Wintoniæ regni diademate fulgidus, detersa captivitatis ignominia, quasi rex novus apparuit. Et hujus quidem libri iste sit modus, qui, quartus in nostro opere, sumpsit exordium in illustrissimi regis Ricardi [5] coronatione prima, et, explicitis recentis memoriæ casibus, incisionis pausam nunc postulat in ejusdem regis coronatione secunda, anno regni sui quinto,[6] a partu autem Virginis, M°C° nonagesimo quarto.

The king holds his court at Northampton at Easter, April 10.

Is re-crowned at Winchester, April 17.

Explicit Liber Quartus.[7]

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[1] *tanti*, C.L.S.; *moti*, B.; *muti*, D.
[2] *omnis*, B.D.L.S.; *omnisque*, C.
[3] *hostilis*, B.C.D.S.; *hominis*, L.
[4] *Hamtonæ*, B.D.L.S.; *Hamtoniæ*, C.
[5] *Ricardi*, B.C.D.S.; om. L.
[6] Here Newburgh follows the usual reckoning, but see p. 117, note 3.
[7] *Quartus*, B.C.L.S.; om. D.

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CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). Vol. V.—1302-1307.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVIII.—1641-1643.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. Vol. V., Part I.—1534-1536.

CALENDAR OF HOME OFFICE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. IV.—1773, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. XI.—1657, &c.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. Vol. VIII.—1535, Jan. to July.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669, &c. Vol. VIII.—East Indies, 1630, &c.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. XII.—1577.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, Esq. Vol. VI.—1720, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and con- "venient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, "would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to "the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House "therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased "to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for "the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, "and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this "purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

    Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

    This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It was the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO. Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written the disputes of the school, men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici,

written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes. *Edited by* Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A Collection of Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "Opus Tertium," "Opus Minus," &c., of Roger Bacon. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of

the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history. Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in

date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066-1200. Vol. III.; 1200-1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862-1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216-1235. Vol. II., 1236-1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862-1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.—1. Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381-1422. 2. Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales, 1259-1307. 3. Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406. 4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Præcentore, compilata; Vol. I., 793-1290: Vol. II., 1290-1349: Vol. III., 1349-1411. 5. Johannis Amundesham, Monachi Monasterii S. Albani, ut videtur, Annales; Vols. I. and II. 6. Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui sæculo xv^{mo} floruere; Vol. I., Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, iterum susceptæ; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, quondam adscriptum: Vol. II., Registra Johannis Whethamstede, Willelmi Albon, et Willelmi Walingforde, Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, cum Appendice, continente quasdam Epistolas, a Johanne Whethamstede Conscriptas. 7. Ypodigma Neustriæ a Thoma Walsingham, quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863-1876.

In the 1st two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Year Books, 11–12 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle

Temple, Barrister-at-Law; *continued by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1883.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of attention on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting

not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy, Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1879.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Wavrin. Albina to 688. (Translation

of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1883.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed

the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* Edward Edwards, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. Chronicon Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the Earliest Times to 1135; with a Supplement, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest Period to the Death of Edward I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. *Edited, with a Translation, by* James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., 1169–1192, known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work: it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a *desideratum* by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873–1877.

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by* JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311–1316. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1873–1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited, from various MSS., by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, one of the most celebrated Primates of Canterbury. They open various points of Historical and Literary interest, without which our knowledge of the period would be more incomplete than it is at present.

64. Chronicon Angliæ, ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388, auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albani. *Edited by* Edward Maunde Thompson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III. which has hitherto been considered lost.

65. Thómas Saga Erkibyskups. A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket, in Icelandic. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by* M. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1875.

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggeshall, the "Libellus de Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

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